

I.L.P. NEWS.

THE MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

No. 44. VOL. IV.

NOVEMBER, 1900.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

OUR generals in South Africa are having recourse to the methods of barbarism. Unable to subdue the fighting men, they have taken to fighting the women and children. Reports from Lord Roberts and newspaper correspondents tell of wholesale burning of homesteads, laying waste the country, and "driving" of women and children.

* * *

FROM China, too, come reports of wholesale looting and burning of villages, indiscriminate slaughter of "Boxers," and villainous outrages upon the women inhabitants by the troops of the allied Christian armies.

* * *

AND from India, under our flag, still comes the wail of famishing millions, whose famine the British Government could relieve if it would, but will not.

* * *

AND this is Empire! And in a few weeks hence the land will be atune with carols and the feast of Christmas-tide.

* * *

MR. MCKINLEY, as everybody expected, has defeated Mr. Bryan for the Presidency of the United States. The largeness of the majority—two to one—has, however, caused some surprise. Although pronounced against Trusts and Imperialism, and supported largely by sincere democratic sentiment, we cannot regard Mr. Bryan's defeat in the light of a great misfortune to progress. It is improbable that Mr. Bryan's success at this juncture would have improved the general political situation in America, or encouraged the growth of Socialism. His programme was vague and at the best a mere tinkering one.

* * *

No resolutely anti-capitalist programme could possibly carry in the United States to-day. The great mass of the people are politically and economically quite unregenerate, and the substitution of Bryan and his Democratic friends for McKinley and the Republicans, would not accelerate but perhaps retard their conversion. Mr. McKinley was backed by the great financiers in New York, and Mr. Bryan was supported by Tammany Hall: a choice of two evils with a vengeance! As we write, none of the telegraph agencies have condescended to inform us how Eugene Debs and the Socialist vote prospered in the tussle.

* * *

CANADA, too, must needs have a general election contest just now, like its neighbours. There, too, as in Britain and the United States, the Government policy is triumphant; but in this case it is a Liberal policy. The Ministerial Party has been returned with precisely the same majority as before, namely, 50. Many insignificant changes have, however, been wrought in the political configuration of the Dominion. Protestant British Ontario, previously Liberal, has become Tory. Quebec is now solidly Liberal. The party division in the centre is now, we are told, a provincial and racial division. This is your Imperialism again—provoking wherever it goes racial conflict and provincial jealousy.

Until the outbreak of hostilities in South Africa, people had forgotten that there existed such a thing as race antipathy between the Canadian French and the Canadian British populations. We shall now probably hear of it frequently. The disaffection and alarm aroused among the French population by the sending of Dominion troops to suppress the Boer Republics will not be allayed for many a day. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister—himself of French origin—is, happily, by no means a jingo, and several of his colleagues have expressed strong disapproval of the South African war. The victory of the Government is, therefore, a rebuke to the extreme Imperialists, and on the whole a reassuring event.

* * *

TURNING to home politics, we find that Lord Salisbury's Ministry has been undergoing extensive alterations and repairs. This is as yet the only visible effect which our British General Election has produced upon the Government of the Empire. Whether or not the change in the *personnel* of the administration is a matter of any importance to the nation depends, we suppose, on the quality of the gentlemen appointed. Like most people inside and outside Parliament, we happen to know really little or nothing concerning the new Ministers—a fact which is neither our fault nor, perhaps, their misfortune.

* * *

It is interesting, however, only in view of the charges of nepotism made exclusively by the Government Press against President Kruger, to note that Lord Salisbury has now procured jobs in the Cabinet for his son, his son-in-law, and two of his nephews, while Mr. Chamberlain has also found a corner for his son as well as his brother in the Ministry, in addition to having provided a cosy seat in the Home Office for his faithful friend Mr. Jesse Collings. Of course, there is no harm in great statesmen discovering and rewarding genius among their relatives. For why should not the law of heredity be utilised for the advantage of the State? And even if it is not, perhaps, quite reassuring to have it said of Prime Ministers and Colonial Secretaries that

"Their uncles and cousins
Were there by the dozens."

meaning by "there," influential and lucrative positions in the Imperial administration, it must surely be remembered that in dealing with British statesmen we are dealing with corrupt republican oligarchs, but with high-minded English Conservative gentlemen.

* * *

FOLLOWING so close as they have done upon the heels of the General Election, the municipal elections this year have not excited very general interest. The absence of complete returns showing how our I.L.P. candidates have fared in the contests, prevents our being able to summarise our losses and gains. Except in one or two towns, it does not appear that any general effort was made this year to materially increase the I.L.P. representatives on City or Town Councils; and, so far as can be ascertained from

the figures which have reached us, our total representation on these bodies will remain much as it was before. Municipal politics seems to be at present in a stationary condition; the position of Liberal and Tory representation remaining also virtually unchanged by the elections.

* * *

To Socialists, perhaps, the most interesting fact which the municipal contests have brought into view is the fixity of tenure which the I.L.P. has secured for itself in connection with municipal representation. When our first successes at municipal polls were announced, many wise and prudent politicians comforted themselves with the reflection that as soon as the novelty of its appearance had worn off, the I.L.P. would speedily subside as an electoral power. This notion is now quite extinguished. Even the most optimist of the reactionary politicians now perceive that, once the I.L.P. has won a position on a local board, it increases from year to year its hold upon the representation. The polls at Bradford, Halifax, Manchester, Sunderland, Workington and Glasgow are fairly decisive upon this point. Even the Blackburn figures, though they show the loss of an I.L.P. seat, prove no exception, if rightly understood, to the rule. Our Blackburn friends, in attempting, after an exhausting Parliamentary campaign, to capture three new seats with unknown candidates and without organization, set themselves an impossible task. They had, besides, to face unexpectedly a coalition not only of the Liberal and Tory, but—wonderful thing to see—of the publican and temperance parties.

* * *

THIS fusion of Liberal and Tory, Church and Chapel, publican and teetotal electoral forces, for the purpose of frustrating municipal enterprise and of worsting labour and Socialism, is responsible also for the defeat of Will Thorne and other labour men in West Ham. It is, however, a combination that cannot last. It is composed of elements which are mutually destructive. Nevertheless, its existence, whether under the specious title of "Municipal Alliance," or any other name, is a warning to us that the very success of the work of our Socialist representatives may at any moment bring the visible and invisible agencies of Capitalism and reaction in scandalous and (for the moment) irresistible combination against us.

* * *

SUFFICIENT, however, for the day is the evil thereof. At least we have splendid victories to set against our few reverses ("reverses" is now, as we gather from Lord Roberts, the acceptable term!). At Manchester Councillors Fred Brocklehurst and J. E. Sutton were both assailed by the strongest opponents that could be put in the field against them; nevertheless, both I.L.P. candidates came out of the conflict with largely increased majorities. E. J. Hart, too, in the Openshaw Ward, polled no less than 1,168 against 1,779 votes recorded for his opponent, a very rich and exceedingly popular Tory. At Halifax the I.L.P., in addition to firmly replacing Councillor Jas. Parker in his seat against an infuriated assault by the Liberals, attempted, like Blackburn, to wrest three additional seats for the opposition. Their effort failed, but they succeeded so far as to place H. L. Barrett within 38 votes of the top of the poll, and they scored for Arthur Taylor the handsome vote of 533 against 698 recorded for his opponent. At Workington the I.L.P. candidates have again been signally successful, and at Glasgow, Sunderland, Keighley and elsewhere the party has stoutly held its own.

BRADFORD is entitled to the highest award of victory. There two I.L.P. seats—those of Councillors Minty and Hartley—were challenged by the Tories, and three Tory seats were in their turn challenged by the I.L.P. Every inch of the ground was contested by the combatants. In the end, however, the I.L.P. not only re-elected Councillors Minty and Hartley, but captured one of the Tory seats, and Edwin Halford, who had—contrary, it is but fair to state, to the wish of the Liberals generally—a Liberal opponent to hamper him in the contest, polled 623 against the winning figure of 738 for the Tory. Tuke Priestman's poll of 878 against the Tory 1,236 was a highly creditable achievement in a ward hitherto untried by the I.L.P.

Opening of the Pankhurst Hall.

THE ceremony of opening the large Hall belonging to the premises built by the Hightown members of the Manchester and Salford I.L.P., and dedicated to the memory of the late Dr. Pankhurst, took place on Saturday, the 9th inst. The hall, which is a fine, airy building, seated for about 400, with excellent retiring rooms attached, has been built from the designs of Mr. Tom Cook, architect, the vice-president of the Manchester and Salford I.L.P. Connected with the new hall is a lesser hall already in use as a recreation room, and a suite of shops which form the facade of the block of buildings. The building, as we have stated, has been erected by members of Hightown I.L.P. who have formed themselves into a company for that purpose. Excellent enterprise has been shown by the members in raising the necessary funds to enable the work to be completed. A considerable portion of the total cost (about £1,350) has, however, been raised on loan, and additional share capital is, therefore, invited. The hall was gaily decorated for the inauguration ceremony, and tables laid for an abundant tea.

Joseph Nuttall occupied the chair and was supported on the platform by Mrs. Pankhurst, the Misses Pankhurst, and Harry Pankhurst, Mrs. Bruce Glasier, Tom Cook, and Councillor Jas. Johnson, J.P.

In declaring the Hall open, Bruce Glasier, on behalf of the National I.L.P., congratulated the Hightown members on their enterprise in adding such a fine building to the resources of the movement. Speaking of Dr. Pankhurst, to whom the Hall was a memorial, he said the Socialist movement and the people of Lancashire generally had lost in him one of the finest public spirits of the age. He possessed enthusiasm, public-mindedness and chivalry to the degree of genius. He was a man who regarded neither kings nor lords—a republican of inborn conviction. He was a student—a rare lover of philosophy and literature—a thinker and investigator, and his career formed one of the finest traditions of the Reform and Socialist movements in England. Concluding, Bruce Glasier spoke of re-awakened vigour of the I.L.P. The large assembly then sat down to tea, and an excellent social followed.

I.L.P. RESOLUTION ON THE WAR.

"THAT in view of the terrible sacrifice of life, widespread suffering, and the enormous destruction of property, which the present war has entailed and must further entail if it is prosecuted to the bitter end, we recommend that the Governments of Great Britain and the South African Republic should at once declare the terms of peace that would be acceptable to them, so that it would be possible for either Government by the acceptance of them now or at any time during the course of the war to bring hostilities to a close. We believe that such a declaration would be in harmony with the principles agreed to at the recent Peace Conference at the Hague; that it would be approved by the people of our own and every other civilized land, and that, in addition to probably bringing a speedy end to the present war, it would form a precedent that might save this and other countries from the disaster of war in the future."

Copies of the resolution have been sent to the leading statesmen of all parties.

CHEAP EDITION.

"Well calculated to make its mark upon the popular economic thought of our time."

—*Times.*

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

BY

L. T. HOBHOUSE, M.A.

WITH

PREFACE BY R. B. HALDANE, M.P.

Crown 8vo. Stiffened paper wrapper, 1s. net.

NOTES FROM THE REVIEWS.

"It would not be too much to say that this is a book which no 'Reformer's Library' should be without, and what is more, it is a book which no one who desires to take up an intelligent attitude towards the labour movement can afford to neglect. And this, after all, ought to mean everyone: for at a time when 'things are in the saddle, and ride mankind,' no one can form an ideal of duty without some guidance on industrial questions. Mr. Hobhouse's *brochure* will add not only strength, but substance, to those who dream dreams, and it will rouse out of their 'dogmatic slumber' those who are content to acquiesce in a world of commercial competition as the best of all possible worlds. I cannot hope to do more than indicate the general outline of Mr. Hobhouse's argument, which is as skilful and suggestive in execution as it is resolute and vigorous in conception."—*International Journal of Ethics.*

"Mr. Hobhouse has given us a delightful little book, picturesque, readable, and logical; and if these criticisms touch the form rather than the matter, let us add that it is full of thought, and full also of fire."—*Oxford Magazine.*

"The present cheap edition must be reckoned a splendid shilling's-worth indeed."—*Reformer.*

"Ought to be studied by all who wish to get a clearer insight into present-day politics."—*Cambridge Independent.*

LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN, PATERNOSTER SQUARE, E.C.

I.L.P. Demonstrations.

GLASGOW.

A great public meeting was held on Friday, 26th October, in the City Hall, Glasgow, to celebrate the return of Keir Hardie to Parliament and to demonstrate the popularity of I.L.P. principles in the city. The Hall, which seats over 3,000 people, was filled. W. Martin Haddow, the president of the Glasgow Council of the I.L.P., occupied the chair, and was supported by Keir Hardie, I.L.P. Councillors and the leading local Socialists and Trades Unionists. Hardie received a great ovation on rising to speak, and the points in his address were approved with an applause which displayed how sound at heart the I.L.P. movement remains despite its rapid growth in the second city of the kingdom.

MANCHESTER.

A similar demonstration took place in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, two days later (Sunday, 28th October) on the occasion of the visit of the National Council to that city. The gathering was organised by the Manchester and Salford I.L.P. as a welcome to the Council and to Keir Hardie, M.P. The great Hall was crowded with an enthusiastic audience of close upon 4,000 people. Previous to the opening of the proceedings, and at intervals during the progress of the meeting, the Manchester Socialist Choir rendered a number of pieces to the delight of the vast assembly. Councillor Fred Brocklehurst occupied the chair and was accompanied to the platform by J. Bruce Glasier (Chairman of the Party), J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Mrs. Pankhurst, Councillor Sutton, Councillor R. A. Barrett, T. H. Gunning, and a host of other well-known local supporters. The proceedings throughout were of the most inspiring character, and never in the history of Manchester I.L.P. has there been manifested so pronounced a feeling of revival and strength as the speeches called forth.

BLACKBURN.

A series of special meetings in connection with the National Council visit to Manchester were also held on Sunday, the 28th October, in Blackburn, at which J. R. Macdonald, S. D. Shallard, and John Penny were the speakers. The weather, unfortunately, proved very stormy, and deterred the people from assembling in such large numbers as otherwise would have been the case. Subsequent visits to Blackburn by Mrs. Bruce Glasier and Philip Snowden show that the good effects wrought by the latter's Parliamentary candidature have in no respect diminished.

SOCIAL GATHERINGS.

ON Saturday, 27th October, a Tea and Social Gathering was held in the "Wheat Sheaf" Hotel, Manchester, to receive the members of the National Council and congratulate Keir Hardie on his election for Merthyr. About 100 friends—men and women—sat down to tea, and Tom Cook, the Vice-president of the Manchester Party, presided. Songs, speeches and readings prolonged the enjoyment of the evening till a late hour.

I know there are people of good-will now, as there have been in all ages, who have conceived of art as going hand in hand with luxury, nay, as being much the same thing. But the idea is false from the root up, and most hurtful to art, as I could demonstrate to you by many examples.—WILLIAM MORRIS.

Do you want to fix the People you impressed during the Election?

Give them

CITY BRANCH PAMPHLET No. 1.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY:

WHAT IT IS AND WHERE IT STANDS.

No. 2.—LABOUR LAWS FOR WOMEN. (3RD EDITION.)

No. 3.—IMPERIALISM: ITS MEANING AND ITS TENDENCY.

Price, One Penny each.

THE OFFICES OF THE I.L.P.,

53, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

The "Reynolds" Convention.

EVEN at the risk of delaying by a very brief period its consignment to a kindly oblivion, we may venture a word or two upon the somewhat fantastic gathering which took place under the designation of "A Great National Democratic Convention," a week or so ago in London. The gathering was, we must acknowledge, an almost startling testimony to the hold that *Reynolds' Newspaper* has upon the imagination of Radical and Democratic politicians, for surely a more imposing newspaper-made "Convention" has never been contrived. All manner of variegated and interesting Democrats were there, though indeed what they were there for many of them had probably but little notion. *Reynolds' Newspaper* had summoned them, and they came. It was, we say, a great day or evening for *Reynolds' Newspaper*.

We notice that *Reynolds'* alleges that a million workers were represented at the gathering. Therein we think our contemporary has possessed itself of a delusion. We should be glad to believe that a million workers were even interested in the affair, but facts are stubborn things.

Although no doubt a well-meant undertaking, the Convention was, we fear, ill-conceived from the beginning. There never was the least shadow of hope of founding a new Democratic movement on the programme which was framed for the discussion of the meeting. Nor can new Democratic movements be made to order. Political movements spontaneously arise; and when they arise they proclaim themselves by many signs and circumstances visible to the eye and audible to the ear. There has not been, we need hardly say, the least indication that the Democracy has suddenly bestirred itself, and is at present eagerly groping its way towards a new political path paved with such paltry good intentions as payment of election expenses, manhood suffrage, and a few other unimportant measures of political reform. When the Democracy makes up its mind to some new departure, it will be, we hope, to advance beyond official Liberalism, not to retrace its steps back half a century.

Think of a "new Democratic movement" entering the threshold of the twentieth century, about to ask for payment of election expenses, but not payment of members! And without a word to say upon the land question, the housing question, or the question of militarism or imperialism! Brief as was its existence, the New Democratic Convention proved itself to be a rather ancient affair.

Payment of election expenses and payment of members, etc., are, of course, very desirable reforms, and if obtained would considerably facilitate social legislation. But the fact is, the bulk of the community has little or no interest in those political reforms precisely because the bulk of the community does not particularly want any social legislation—a fact which the recent elections has made sufficiently clear. It is evident, therefore, that what is most urgently wanted is not a movement to provide the people with a better means of expressing their opinions, but as many movements as possible to provide the people with opinions to express.

The Appeal to Reason, the American Socialist newspaper, which did so much for the candidature of Debs and Harriman for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, has a weekly circulation of nearly 150,000, and it is constantly increasing. Over three-quarters of a million of a special number, dated November 3rd, were sold. The *A. R.* is certainly one of the best propagandist Socialist organs in the English language.

What the I.L.P. is Doing.

ALVESTON I.L.P. severely heckled the Parliamentary candidate at several of his meetings. Secretary Gilbert Williams has been again attacked by Thornbury Hooligans in consequence. The Gas Workers' Union joined the Branch in issuing a manifesto to the electors.

HOLBECK Branch has finished a very successful summer season. Indoor lectures will be held during the winter.

TWELVE MEMBERS of the Rutherglen I.L.P. have decided to subscribe a penny a week for future election expenses. This good example, we trust, will be followed elsewhere.

W. PICKLES, Chairman of Trades Union Congress, has been speaking for the Spen Valley S.S. Let us hope Spen Valley is waking up.

The Clapham Independent and Labour News is the title of the latest addition to the ranks of I.L.P. papers. It is to be published monthly, price one halfpenny. The first issue (November) is brightly written, and if the programme of the journal is carried out it should play a useful part in municipal developments in the Clapham district.

The Pioneer (Pendlebury) contains a portrait and a descriptive sketch of Councillor Philip Snowden, late Parliamentary candidate for Blackburn.

WEST BROMWICH I.L.P. has decided to build a Socialist Hall, and is trying to raise £100 for this purpose in six months.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE Branch is making preparations for holding a Sale of Work and Christmas Tree, with a view to clearing off the cost of their recent Parliamentary contest, and providing means for participating in the School Board election, which takes place in January.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY has paid an official visit to the Birmingham, Wolverhampton and district branches.

KEIR HARDIE has been among his constituents delivering addresses to enthusiastic meetings and receiving congratulations in English and Welsh prose and poetry.

ALTHOUGH ALL THE FOUR SOCIALIST CANDIDATES at Blackburn Municipal Elections were defeated, they all, with one exception, polled larger votes than were obtained last year. Had the contests been three-cornered ones it is believed that at least three of the candidates would have won.

A DEMONSTRATION is to be held in Liverpool on Sunday, 25th inst., at which Keir Hardie, M.P., S. D. Shallard, and James Parker, members of the National Council will speak.

MRS. BRUCE GLASIER put nine days' work into the Bradford municipal contests—speaking at indoor and out, and canvassing between times.

S. G. HOBSON, BRUCE GLASIER, AND S. D. SHALLARD have on the occasion of their recent visits to the Leek Labour Church, lectured by invitation to the Leek Liberal Club. There have been lively discussions, and we hope more light than heat radiated as the result of them among the members.

WILLIE WRIGHT has been in Scotland, lecturing for the I.L.P., in Ayrshire and in a number of the industrial towns.

HYDE I.L.P. put in nomination papers for one of its members as a candidate at the recent municipal elections. His nomination was rejected, however, on account of the error of a single letter of his name, although it was the registration roll that was at fault.

FOLLOWING upon his Parliamentary campaign, Fred Brocklehurst has had to go through the ordeal of a municipal election, and now he is in the thick of a School Board contest.

FIFTY PAPERS FREE.

INTERNATIONAL PRESS AGENCY.

The Australasian Society for Social Ethics will send to any address 50 specimen copies of Australasian, English and American Newspapers and Magazines on receipt of 1s. to pay for mailing.

Send 1s. to—

Subscription Agency Department,

The Australasian Society for Social Ethics,

"Bernice," Summer Hill, Sydney,

And you will receive 50 papers.

Independent Labour Party

HEAD OFFICE 53, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

All inquiries with respect to the I.L.P. should be addressed to the above office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming branches are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

I.L.P. PUBLICATIONS.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Large Poster, 65in. by 45in. Deals with the aims and position of the Party. Clearly printed, and easily read. Price, 3s. per doz.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Small Poster. Suitable for window display, size 17½in. by 22½in. Price, 9d. per doz.

Members' Pence Cards.—4d. per doz. post free.

Rules.—To insert in Pence Cards (with rubber bands), 4d. per doz.

CAROLINE MARTYN MEMORIAL LIBRARY.

No. 1. *Politics and the I.L.P.*—By John Edwards. Pamphlet, 16pp being the paper read at the Annual Conference, 1897, rewritten and enlarged. Price 1d.

No. 2. *Independent Labour Party*.—Statement of Principles. Leaflet, 4pp. Price 4s. per 1,000.

No. 3 *A Labour Catechism*.—Leaflet 4pp. arranged in question and answer form. Price 4s. per 1,000.

No. 4. *What Boards of Guardians Can Do*.—Leaflet, 4pp., by Mrs. Pankhurst. Price 4s. per 1,000.

I.L.P. News.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

Subscription Rates: One year, 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month, 1½d. Post free. For advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News," 53, Fleet Street, E.C.

HEAD OFFICE 53, FLEET STREET, E.C.

Published on the 10th day of each Month.

No. 44.

NOVEMBER, 1900

The Question of Policy.

To be fair to the Liberal and Tory censors of the I.L.P., we must acknowledge that they are not its only critics. Within the ranks of the I.L.P. the voice of disaffection is not quite silent. Murmurings, faint, it is true, have been heard here and there—some accusing the party locally of indirectly consorting with the Tories, and others complaining of risky alliances with the Liberals.

There may or may not be ground in some cases for such complaints. Frankly, we are prepared to admit that not only must such allegations come, but that good cause for them must occasionally come also, not because I.L.P. principles lend themselves to abuse, but because the I.L.P. itself is human. Local irritation against the conduct of one or other of the political parties has upon more than one occasion led members and branches to pursue vindictive and sometimes reckless courses at elections. Cases, too, have occurred where the personal influence of prominent members has persuaded branches into actions against their better judgment. Misadventures of this kind are inseparable from political warfare, and it is no part of our duty to pretend that the I.L.P. is in possession of either perfect wisdom or perfect men.

Recognizing these things, we are far from feeling disposed to treat all complaints raised against the political action of branches as unfounded or merely spiteful accusations. There is, and always will be, more than enough justification for constant vigilance on the part of all who

wish to preserve our movement strong and of good repute. When, however, complaint arises, as it not infrequently does, less from a solicitude to preserve the party on the path of resolute independence than from timidity because the party is associated for the moment with one or other section of the opposition, or from vexation because the Liberals rather than the Tories, or the Tories rather than the Liberals, are for the moment aimed at, we confess to feeling but little sympathy with the complainants. There exist a few dissentients in our ranks who are always implacably opposed to voting Liberal under any circumstances, just as there are others who become recalcitrant when it is proposed under any circumstances to vote Tory. This taint of partiality is usually concealed under especially strong asseverations of independence of *both* political parties. These pro-Liberal and pro-Tory dissentients form no appreciable portion of the I.L.P., the vast majority of which is entirely without fear or favour towards one party or another. But, though few in number, they are none the less deserving of reply.

To those who are specially apprehensive of any collusion between the I.L.P. and the Liberal Party, recent circumstances have no doubt lent countenance to their fears. The Liberal Party, realizing its own distressful plight and the growing strength of the I.L.P., and, acting on the principle that discretion is the better part of valour, has recently left our candidates in several constituencies a free field to fight the Tories. This fact, coupled with widespread feeling in our ranks in favour of supporting anti-war candidates, undoubtedly brought our electoral forces and those of the Liberal Party into temporary juxtaposition in a number of constituencies.

Temporary conjunctions of I.L.P. and Liberal or Tory electoral forces of this kind, are inevitable, and any fear of pro-Liberalism which has arisen from the present political circumstances is merely the counterpart of the fear of pro-Toryism which was incidental to the General Election of 1895, and which led some of the feebleminded of our members to take flight from our ranks. It is a fear which, in one or other of its forms, will afflict the more timid section of Socialists from time to time, just as circumstances arise compelling the I.L.P. to throw its influence with one or another of the two old political parties.

The policy of neutrality or abstention has the advantage—if such it be—of not arousing misapprehensions of this kind. That indeed is the chief and perhaps the only advantage that can be generally claimed for that policy. Though often for this reason a wise and necessary precaution, an abstention policy is a policy of compromise of the completest kind. It possesses, too, the quality of fatal facility. It is always an easy resort from the responsibility of statesmanship, and is apt to degenerate into feebleness and futility. A neutrality or abstention policy is no more a condition of independence in politics than isolation is a condition of independence in ordinary life. It is a policy which will become more and more difficult and impolitic as our party grows and our power becomes more determinative on the political issues before the nation. Common action with one or other of the political forces in the field must inevitably become one of our resources at elections. As our strength grows, the hopelessness of Liberal opposition to us in certain seats, and of Tory opposition to us in others, will become more and more manifest, and the adversity of our foes will thus bring us strange bed-fellows, whether we will or no. And besides this, as our political dominion extends our re-

sponsibility for the fate of parties and measures will become of too vast an importance to the nation to be neglected or declined by us.

More and more, therefore, must the policy of independence in this country, as in Germany and elsewhere, become less and less a policy of isolation. It would be an amazing spectacle indeed were the I.L.P., as it acquires the power of arbitrament in politics, to refuse to exercise that power. It would be an abandonment of its duty of citizenship and of the prerogative which its success imposed upon it. Nay, it would be a cowardly and incompetent policy; and all the more cowardly and incompetent if indulged in because of distrust of our own virtue or capacity to act freely for or against the other parties. The fear of one's self is a far greater misfortune than the fear of one's enemies.

All these are things which we shall have to take into account as we go on. They form part of our day's work, as William Morris used to put it cheerily. Doubts and difficulties concerning them will constantly present themselves, and we shall have to cleave our way through them as best we can. The branches will make mistakes, and the whole party may at times fall into an error of judgment; but let us be assured that the good sense and the good humour of the party will not fail it in an emergency. The party will right itself by the momentum of its Socialism. Our I.L.P. is not an adventitious movement. Its growth, the necessity of it, and the inevitableness of its policy, are part of the process of the industrial and moral development of Society.

Above all, let us not be distraught if here and there within our ranks some one is found wringing his hands and declaring that the party is going to the bad because it is getting on well. Failure is not always a proof of honesty, nor unpopularity of wisdom; as often as not it is the alarmist himself that is in a perilous state. Cries that we are taking a wrong course have assailed our ears from the beginning, and it has not infrequently turned out that the cries have been but premonitory symptoms of the complainers themselves losing faith and falling out by the way.

THE National Administrative Council has under consideration an important scheme for adding greatly to the financial and propaganda resources of the movement. In view of the wide public sympathy for the social and anti-militarist aims of the Party which the recent elections have revealed, the Council feels that it is incumbent upon the I.L.P. to undertake wider and more effective action to organize public opinion for the purpose of securing the return of a number of members pledged to further our principles at the earliest opportunity. To accomplish this object the funds of the Party must be largely augmented, and the Council is hopeful that not only the members of the Party but a large section of unattached sympathizers will respond to the call that will be made upon them. A statement concerning the new financial scheme and method of more extensive propaganda will shortly be issued.

A STRONG AGITATION is being worked up in Chicago in favour of the municipalization of the gas supply. America, like England, is finding that private monopolies do not benefit the people. A candidate for U.S.A. Congress in the Los Angeles district has adopted as his motto, "Let the nation own the trusts." It would be difficult to find a more terse epitome of the Socialist idea.

Municipal Election Results.

BLACKBURN.—ST. PAUL'S WARD.	
Fecitt (L)	912
Smethurst (I.L.P. & S.D.F.)	513
Liberal majority	399
ST. MATTHEW'S WARD.	
Woolley (L)	849
*Fuller (I.L.P. & S.D.F.)	678
Liberal majority	171
ST. THOMAS' WARD.	
Watson (C)	886
Seed (I.L.P. & S.D.F.)	642
Conservative majority	244
ST. ANDREW'S WARD.	
Gursden (C)	788
Eccles (I.L.P. & S.D.F.)	269
Conservative majority	519
One I.L.P. loss. The Council now contains one I.L.P. and two S.D.F. councillors.	
BRADFORD.	
ALLERTON WARD.	
Joseph Hayhurst (I.L.P.)	883
Wesley Knight (C)	794
I.L.P. majority	89
BRADFORD MOOR WARD.	
*E. R. Hartley (I.L.P.)	1334
Joseph Wheater (C)	985
I.L.P. majority	349
LITTLE HORTON WARD.	
Christopher Greenwood (C)	1236
A. T. Priestman (I.L.P.)	878
Conservative majority	358
MANNINGHAM WARD.	
*George Minty (I.L.P.)	1,881
Joseph Hey (C)	1,309
I.L.P. majority	572
NORTH BIERLEY WEST WARD.	
R. W. Wickham (C)	738
Edwin Halford (I.L.P.)	623
Athra Kellett (Ind. Liberal)	424
Conservative majority	115
One I.L.P. gain. The Council now contains six I.L.P. representatives (four councillors and two aldermen).	
HALIFAX.	
KINGSTON.	
G. Tyson (I)	973
Jennings Sowood (I.L.P.)	378
Independent majority	595
NORTH.	
*James Parker (I.L.P.)	778
Michael McHugh (I.L.P.)	484
I.L.P. majority	294
CENTRAL.	
Robert Maude (L)	572
Henry Lambert Barrett (I.L.P.)	534
Liberal majority	58
PELLON.	
Alfred Binns (L)	698
Arthur Taylor (I.L.P.)	533
Liberal majority	165
No change. Council contains two I.L.P. representatives.	

KEIGHLEY.

EAST.

*William F. Hardy (I.L.P.)	480
William Thomson (L)	469
I.L.P. majority	11

NORTH-EAST.

J. T. Pollard (C)	489
Jonathan Gill (L)	304
Thomas Mackley (I.L.P.)	144
No change. Council contains four I.L.P. representatives, including one alderman.	

MANCHESTER.

BRADFORD WARD.

*J. E. Sutton (I.L.P.)	3,008
G. Jennison (C)	1,363
I.L.P. majority	1,645

HARPURHEY.

*F. Brocklehurst (I.L.P.)	3,003
G. W. Chadwick (C)	2,195
I.L.P. majority	808

OPENSHAW.

*J. Pollitt (C)	1,779
E. J. Hart (I.L.P.)	1,168
Conservative majority	611
No change. Council contains three I.L.P. and one S.D.F. representatives.	

Results in Brief.

Finsbury	.. Penny	.. Not elected	.. 145
"	.. Davie	.. " "	.. 120
Workington	.. Dodgson	.. Re-elected	.. 983
"	.. Holmes	.. " "	.. 199
"	.. Watts	.. Gain	.. 195
Stockton	.. Smith	.. Re-elected	.. 325
Hartlepool	.. Sherwood	.. Not elected	.. 185
Hackney	.. Bingley	.. " "	.. 169
"	.. Debnam	.. " "	.. 108
"	.. Horne, C.	.. " "	.. 121
"	.. Montague	.. " "	.. 123
"	.. Smith	.. " "	.. 152
"	.. Wigan	.. " "	.. 143
St. Pancras	.. Horne, G.	.. " "	.. 559
"	.. Chambers	.. " "	.. 989
"	.. James	.. " "	.. 893
"	.. Rogers	.. " "	.. 869
Clapham	.. Bartlett	.. " "	.. 161
"	.. Strugnell	.. " "	.. 123
"	.. Crisp	.. " "	.. 122
"	.. Paul	.. " "	.. 110
"	.. Hillan	.. " "	.. 88
Ossett	.. Wilkinson	.. " "	.. 97
"	.. Wilson	.. " "	.. 49
"	.. France	.. Loss	.. 224
Oldham	.. Clynes	.. Not elected	.. 946
Bootle	.. Wadsworth	.. " "	.. 503
Wolverhampton	Frost	.. " "	.. 335
Sunderland	.. New	.. Re-elected	.. 860
Arbroath	.. Maclean	.. Not elected	.. 245
"	.. Addison	.. " "	.. 102
Glasgow	.. Forsyth	.. Re-elected	.. 2375
"	.. Haddow, W. M.	.. Not elected	.. 1189
Edinburgh	.. Davidson	.. " "	.. 1002
Rochdale	.. Holt	.. " "	.. 179
West Ham	.. Jacobs	.. Gain	.. 811
"	.. Davis	.. Re-elected	.. 926
SUMMARY.—54 candidates, 3 gains, 12 re-elected, 2 losses. Total vote 34,180. Average vote 633.			

The I.L.P. in the General Election.

(Continued from last month.)

FLETCHER IN CAMLACHIE.

THE wide reputation of A. E. Fletcher as a man of high political rectitude and fine personal qualities, made his candidature in the eastern division of Glasgow one of great interest to hosts of people outside our ranks and the immediate area of his contest.

The constituency is one in which two former I.L.P. parliamentary contests took place. Cunningham Graham fought this seat in a four cornered contest in 1892, obtaining over 900 votes. Three years later, when Robert Smillie engaged in a three cornered fight, the poll fell to some 600 votes. In the present instance, after many futile efforts on the part of the official Liberals to procure a Liberal candidate, it was eventually thought expedient to allow Mr. Fletcher a free field against the Tory.

Mr. Fletcher proclaimed himself a socialist and a "pro Boer." His 3,107 votes, therefore, make one of the most notable polls recorded for our candidates. His candidature was enthusiastically promoted by the Camlachie I.L.P., and hearty assistance was given by the other Glasgow branches. The Trades Council and local Irish National League also participated in the fray in his behalf, and the S.D.F. and the Clarion Scouts and Cyclists worked for his return with a will. Sandy Haddow acted as his Election Agent, and the I.L.P. Councillors Mitchel, Stewart and Forsyth, Bailie Ferguson, Wm. Murphy, President of Co-operative Wholesale Society, Wm. Blackwood, Secretary of the Gas Workers Union, with a host of other local propagandists, shared in the toils of the campaign.

Brocklehurst at Manchester.

It was known for many months that the Liberals would, as the better part of valour, put no candidate in the field to interfere in the contest between Fred Brocklehurst and W. T. Galloway the sitting Tory member. The doubt as to whether this self effacement upon the part of the official Liberals would be handsomely supplemented by their calling upon the Liberal voters to record their votes for Brocklehurst was, however, fully justified by events.

At the last moment the pronouncement was made that the Liberal party would officially abstain from the polls. It appears that the official Liberals have sulked in their tent ever since Brocklehurst inaugurated his campaign eighteen months ago, when he declared that he stood absolutely independent of Liberal and Tory, and refused to submit his candidature to the approval of the Liberal party. The 2,398 votes recorded for Brocklehurst, represent, therefore, votes which we hope are definitely alienated from the Liberal party. The I.L.P. had accomplished little or no organisation in the division, and Brocklehurst had to meet an adversary on whose behalf neither money nor misrepresentation was spared.

The contest proved one of the most uphill battles in which any of our candidates have had to engage in, in town constituencies. Joe Nuttall acted as election agent, and was assisted by I.L.P. members from all parts of Manchester.

City Branch.

Mr. T. J. Cobden Sanderson, member of the City Branch of the I.L.P., will read a paper on "Craft and Trade Guilds" at the next meeting of the Branch, on Tuesday, Dec. 11th, at 8 p.m., at Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street. The meeting will be free to all, whether members of the I.L.P. or not. The City Branch decided at its first annual meeting, held on November 7th, to send a copy of the I.L.P. News each month to each of its members. The 4th of the City Branch Series of I.L.P. pamphlets is now ready. It is entitled "Commercialism and Child-Labour, an Indictment and Some Remedies," and should be specially suggestive in view of approaching School Board Elections.

Independent Labour Party Election Fund.

SUBJOINED is a Statement of General Election Fund—Receipts and Expenditure to date, 10th November, 1900. It includes all sums received and paid out by the Treasurer of Fund. It is expected that when all the cards and outlying collections are sent in a considerable addition will be made to the receipts. It is also expected that part, at least, of the nomination fees paid towards the various candidatures will be refunded at an early date.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Amount of Subscriptions, including donations per Labour Leader, received by T. D. Benson	988	17	6	By Nomination Fees paid out as follows:—	
„ Amount received from Head Office	550	0	0	Blackburn	163 3 4
				Bradford	140 0 0
				Camlachie	180 0 0
				Leicester	150 0 0
				Merthyr Tydvil	270 0 0
				Preston	200 0 0
				Gorton	25 0 0
				South - West	
				Manchester	100 0 0
				Halifax	30 0 0
				Rochdale	50 0 0
				„ Ashton - under -	
				Lyne	70 10 9
				„ Loans to Gorton	150 0 0
				„ Speakers, travel-	
				ling, &c.	22 2 0
				„ Telegrams	3 7 10
				„ Postages, &c.	0 16 6
				„ General Expen-	
				ses	6 9 7
„ Balance carried down	22	12	6		
	£1,561	10	0		£1,561 10 0
				By Balance brought down	£22 12 6

November 10th, 1900.

T. D. BENSON, Treasurer.

MONTHLY REPORT FROM HEAD OFFICE.

OCTOBER, 1900.

- 74 Branches paid fees in October.
- 47 „ sent reports without fees.
- 7 „ pay fees quarterly.
- 60 „ sent neither fees or reports.

The income of the Head Office during October was:—

Affiliation Fees	£20	16	8
Election Fund	165	15	7
Sales	18	19	6½
National Branch	1	0	
Donations			2½

£205 13 0

The Branch Report Sheet for November must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

NEW BRANCHES.

CARNOUSTIE—Secretary, Henry Ogg, 12, Panmure Street, Carnoustie.

OLDHAM SOCIALIST SOCIETY—Secretary, J. Shaw, 21, Barker Street, Oldham.

CHANGE OF SECRETARIES—

Barrow-in-Furness—John R. Cameron, 86, Ainslie Street, Barrow-in-Furness.

Bootle—Ernest Clarke, 50, Queens Road, Bootle.

Bradford—F. Bramley, 139, Oak Lane, Manningham, Bradford.

Clydebank—John Trew, 87, Kilbowie Road, Clydebank.

Glossop—W. F. Hollings, 71, St. Mary's Road, Glossop.

Nelson—Jos. Procter, 38, John Street, Nelson.

Branch Fees and Reports.

The following Branches paid fees in October:—

Alveston, rs.; Annfield Plain, paid; Arbroath, 2s. 6d.; Ayr, rs. 5d.; Barnsley, 3s. 6d.; Bedlinog, 5s.; Birmingham W., 6s.; Blackburn, 6s. 3d.; Bootle, 2s. 1d.; Brechin, 2s. 6d.; Bromley, rs. 7d.; Cheltenham, 2s.; Chester, ros.; Clapham, 3s.; Cleckheaton, 9s.; Clydebank, 2s. 6d.; College, ros.; Consett, 2s. 6d.; Cowdenbeath, paid; Cowling, 2s.; Darlington, 2s. 6d.; Dudley, 8s. 4d.; East Ham, rs. 4d.; Edinburgh, 5s. 5d.; Farnworth, 4s. 2d.; Farsley, 3s. 6d.; Gillingham, 2s.; Hawick, rs. 6d.; Hexham, rs. 2d.; Holbeck, 2s. 4d.; Hollinwood, 18s.; Horwich, ros.; Huddersfield, £1 12s. 6d.; Hull, 12s. 4d.; Kensington N., rs. 6d.; Lesmahagow, rs.; Littleborough, 2s. 6d.; Liverpool, 15s.; London City, £1 5s.; Long Eaton, paid; Longwood, 6s. 9d.; Milnsbridge, paid; Motherwell, rs. 4d.; Newcastle, ros.; New Marske, rs. 6d.; Norwich, 13s.; Nottingham, 3s. 2d.; Oakengates, 2s.; Oldham S.S., 2s.; Paisley, 8s. 4d.; Pendlebury, ros.; Portsmouth, 5s.; Preston, 4s. 2d.; Rishton, 2s.; Rotherham, 4s.; Rothwell, 3s.; St. Rollox, 6s. 6d.; Salford W., ros.; Shildon, rs. 6d.; South Shields, 2s. 6d.; Sowerby, 6s.; Spen Valley S.S., rs. 2d.; Stockport, £2 3s. 6d.; Stockton, 4s. 2d.; Sutton-in-Ashfield, 7d.; Thornhill Lees, 16s. 8d.; Tottenham, 3s.; Tradeston, 2s. 6d.; Warrington, 3s. 6d.; Werneth, 7s. 6d.; West Ham N., 5s.; Woolwich, 7s.; Yeadon, 3s. 4d.; Ystalyfera, rs. (74).

The following Branches pay fees quarterly:—

Felling, Finsbury, Lye, Musselburgh, Nelson, Townhill, Workington. (7).

The following Branches sent Reports without fees:—

Armley, Ashton-under-Lyne, Aston, Attercliffe, Barrow-in-Furness, Birmingham, C., Bolton, Bordesley, Bradford, Bridgeton, Chesterfield, Crewe, Crook, Crosshills, Darlaston, Darwen, Derby, Doncaster, Earlestown, Eccles, Fulham, Glasgow City, Glossop, Hackney, Halifax, Hartlepool, Islington, Keighley, Kettering, Langley Mill, Leeds N., Leicester, Mexborough, Manchester and Salford, Middlesbrough, Mossley, Openshaw, Penyarden, Rochdale, St. Pancras, Spen Colliery, Stroud, Sunderland, West Bromwich, West Ham S., Wolverhampton, York. (47)

The following Branches sent neither reports or fees:—

Abertillery, Ashford, Bath, Berkeley, Bermondsey, Birkenhead, Brighouse, Burslem, Bury, Camlachie, Cardiff, Chalford, Cirencester, Colne Valley, Dundee, Elland, Failsworth, Gateshead, Gloucester, Govan, Grantham, Greenwick, Halton, Heckmondwike, Hunslett E., Hutesontown, Hyde, Inverness, Kilmarnock, Kingswood, Kirriemuir, Lancaster, Leeds C., Leith, Limehouse, Macclesfield, Maescywmmer, Mansfield, Merthyr Vale, Middleton, Montrose, Newport, Normanton, Oakworth, Ossett, Otley, Partick, Peckham, Pudsey, Ripley, Rutherglen, Southampton, Spennymoor, Stalybridge, Sunderland, Tyldesley, Vale of Leven, Walkden, Wishaw, Yarmouth. (60).

OTHER CASH RECEIVED IN OCTOBER.

Sales.—Arbroath, rs. 8d.; Bootle, rs. 11d.; Brechin, 9d.; Bromley, 11d.; Clydebank, 3s. 6d.; Consett, 10½d.; Darlington, rs. 3½d.; Derby, 2s.; Felling, rs. 9d.; Gillingham, 10s. 6d.; Hackney, 10½d.; A. Heaton, £1 10s. 0d.; Huddersfield, 18s. 10d.; Hull, 3s. 6d.; Leeds, rs. 8d.; Leicester £1 7s. 0d.; Liverpool, 15s.; Motherwell, 3s. 8d.; Norwich, 9s.; Paisley, 3s. 10d.; Penyarden, 5s. 10d.; Sowerby, 7s. 2d.; Stockport, 6s.; Stockton, 2s. 4d.; West Birmingham, 4s.; West Ham S. 10½d.; Office, £11 3s. 11d. Total £18 19s. 6½d.

National Branch.—S. Mc. Gowan rs.

Donation.—P. Harrison 2½d.

Election.—J. Field, 2s. 6d.; S. G., 2s.; A. Grimmeth, 2s. 6d.; C. Jevens, 2s. 6d.; H. Davies, 2s. 6d.; H. F. Hawkes, 2s.; Milnsbridge Labour Club, £2.; J. A. and W. Arnot, £1.; J. Sparling, 5s.; West Bromwich I.L.P., 16s.; Harry Brockhouse, £2 4s.; Mr. and Mrs. Frank Sproson, 2s. 6d.; A. Priestly, rs.; J. W. Holland, 2s. 6d.;

T. Hall, 2s.; E. Taylor, 2s. 6d.; G. Anderson, 2s.; W. Pickles, rs.; J. Brook, rs.; E. H. Ellis, rs.; A. Bower, 2s. 6d.; H. Thomas, 2s. 6d.; Ben Clough, 6d.; W. Lockwood, 2s.; J. Hulfield, 2s.; T. Wilkinson, rs.; T. H. Thornton, rs.; W. Brook, rs.; H. Bottomley, 2s.; T. Topping, 2s. 6d.; J. F. Mooney, 2s. 6d.; J. Priestly, 6d.; P. Burrowclough, rs.; F. Haytack, 6d.; W. Lumb, rs.; C. Maltby, rs.; J. Steele, 2s.; J. Mossley, rs.; D. D. Hopkinson, rs.; A. Martinis, 5s.; J. Green, rs.; T. B., rs.; W. H., 6d.; A. D., 6d.; J. W. B., rs.; S. W., 6d.; Crosshills I.L.P., 11s. 9d.; Hull I.L.P. (first instalment), £1 5s.; Lye I.L.P., collected by Oliver Jenkins, £1 10s.; Edith Quainton and Comrades, ros.; E. O. France, collected, 7s.; W. Roughley, collected, 5s. 6d.; R. Wilson, collected, 5s.; Joe Wright, Annesley Woodhouse, collected, £1 11s. 9d.; Chester I.L.P., ros.; Nelson I.L.P., £2.; A few Crewe I.L.P.'ers, per, A. E. Walker, £1 7s. 6d.; collected by A. Butler, Cheltenham, 5s.; Clapham I.L.P., collected by H. Crisp, 14s.; A. Graysin, Eccles, 2s. 6d.; Hull I.L.P., £1 5s.; A. Foote, Lochgelly, collected, £1 5s.; E. Chadwick, Rothwell, collected, 10s. 9d.; Mark Goodall, Rothwell, collected, 2s. 6d.; Wm. Palfrey, Rothwell, collected, 2s. 6d.; W. Lunn, jun., Rothwell, collected, 16s. 9d.; A. Danbrook, Crook, collected, 13s.; Wm. Faichnie, Falkirk, collected, £1 0s. 9d.; Kettering I.L.P., collection, 10s. 3d.; A. Mitchell, collected, 10s.; Hanley Labour Church, 16s. 6d.; A Few Friends, per F. Hayward, 6s. 9d.; Per W. Stubbs, New Marske, 2s. 6d.; F. Rogers, Chesterfield, collected, £3 16s.; G. Bowen, Chesterfield, collected, 7s. 6d.; T. K. Clay, Bordesley, 5s.; S. H. Morgan, Bordesley, collected, 4s. 3d.; E. Molyneux, Bordesley, collected, £1 8s.; A. Hunt, Bordesley, collected, 9s.; Felling I.L.P., collected, £2 3s.; W. Rowland, Eccles, collected, 3s.; M. Williams, Newcastle, collected, £1 6s.; G. Ness, Newcastle, collected, 7s. 6d.; Rotherham I.L.P., £4.; Darlington I.L.P., £4 1s.; Hexham I.L.P., 5s.; G. Henderson, collected 14s. 10d.; John Baker, collected 11s.; G.D.E. 6s.; J. Peacock, collected 19s.; W. Marrs, collected 15s. 6d.; Music Engraver, 4s. 6d.; J. Riddell, collected 15s. 9d.; Per "The Clarion" £53 4s. 2d.; H. S. Phillips, 5s.; John Scullard, 10s.; Eliza Passmore, 2s. 6d.; S. E. Southard, 2s. 6d.; G. Gifford, collected 15s. 8½d.; Derby I.L.P., 12s.; W. Hughes, collected 11s.; Hawick I.L.P., col. W. Riddle, £1.; McG.G., £2.; Rotherham I.L.P., collected £2 5s.; A. Jackson, collected 5s.; W. Hughes, collected rs. 6d.; Stockport I.L.P., 16s.; Keighley I.L.P., £4 15s.; G. Madelaine, 5s.; J. Smith, 5s.; A. Hill, 5s.; J. Pritchard, 5s.; T. Stott, 5s.; Mr. Ashworth, 6d.; Mr. Weld, 6d.; Lye I.L.P., ros.; A. Wilson, 2s.; J. Greenhalgh, ros.; N. W. Franks, 2s. 6d.; E. Hayes, 6d.; W. W. Cayford, rs.; E. A. Hanks, collected 15s. 6d.; F. Bevis, collected 2s. 6d.; E. Merchant 5s.; per G. Henderson, J. Johnstone, J. Fenton, J. Robertson, H. Izatt, A. Payton, 9s. 6d.; Spennymoor I.L.P., 11s.; C. Bowen, 6d.; P. Beard, rs.; Longwood Labour Club, £2.; Birkenhead I.L.P., £4 5s. 6d.; Stockton, I.L.P. (1st instalment), £2.; Spen I.L.P., 2s. 6d.; J. H. Rockell, Clapham, collected 7s.; W. M'Donald, Clapham, collected 4s.; Crewe I.L.P., collected £3.; Rutherglen I.L.P., £2 5s.; A. Dalton, collected at Penge, 11s. 6d.; G. Kellie, College, collected 19s.; W. C. Wilson, College, collected 3s. 6d.; A. Robertson, College, collected 9s.; M. Logan, Bridgeton, collected 8s. 6d.; John M'Nicol, collected 16s. 3d.; John Searson, collected 8s.; T. Riddle, collected £1.; William Dick, collected 17s. 3d.; T. Myers, Thornhill Lees, col. £1 1s.; A. Fernie, Eccles, collected 3s. 6d.; G. S. "Pad," 2s. 6d.; North West Ham I.L.P., £1 5s.; T. Scarff, Shildon, collected 14s. 9d.; R. Spenceley, Shildon, collected 18s.; D. Lang, Middlesbrough, collected 14s. 6d.; Joshua Ellis, Slaithwaite, collected 19s. 6d.; Jonas B. Winpenny, Slaithwaite, collected 9s.; N. Gartside, rs.; F.E.G., 6s.; G.R.E., rs.; P. G., Stroud, 3s.; R. Burrell, Annfield Plain, collected 15s.; W. Speakman, Earlestown, collected 17s.; Joseph Hill, collected 11s. 2d.; J. Wombell, collected £1 3s. 6d.; H. Sykes, collected 6s. 6d.; T. Nicholson, collected 2s.; G. Short, collected 6s.; T. Dimberline, collected 9s. 6d.; Hugh Wharton, 15s. 4d.; R. Jones, collected 3s. 6d.; J. Walton, collected £1 2s. 6d.; A. E. Allen, collected 18s.; A. Bannister, collected 6s. 6d.; G. Clay, collected 3s.; T. C. Wilson, collected 10s.; Jos. Hazelp, collected £1 6s. 6d.; A. Leake, collected £1 18s. 0½d.; J. Scholey, collected 3s.; Holbeck I.L.P., 10s.; W. Powell, rs. 4d.; Cris. Kay, collected 6s.; C. J. Duxbury, collected 8s.; Simeon Kay, collected 3s.; Ainsworth Cooper, collected 11s.; J. Duxbury, collected 8s.; Francis Johnson, collected 12s. 6d.; Total, £165 15s. 7d.

(Signed) JOHN PENNY,

53, Fleet Street, E.C.

I.L.P. NEWS.

THE MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

No. 45. VOL. IV.

DECEMBER, 1900.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

PARLIAMENT has been suddenly called together to vote money to the Government for the war. The voting of money to Governments has at all times been the chief, and in some instances (notably those of King Charles and— &c.), the only reason for summoning Parliament at all.

* * *

Parliamentary privilege (Parliament, be it observed, has no "rights" only "privileges") used to be safeguarded by the axiom, "grievance before supply." Patriotic war policies, however, have acquired an awkward knack of knocking old-fashioned formulæ of popular liberties unceremoniously out of the way. Already one session of Parliament has been held, and now here comes another, in which no "grievances" need apply, and only bills of supply may come before the House.

* * *

It is curious to note how adaptable—one might almost say, time-serving—is our parliamentary institution. With equal facility it responds, as it deems occasion requires, to the will of the people or the behest of the monarchy. But yesterday it seemed to have irrevocably shut its doors against the least intrusion of kingship or autocracy; to-day, without informality or alteration of posture, it complaisantly leaves the door ajar. Even a dullard may see how, if but a war with France or any European nation took place, our whole parliamentary paladium of democracy might fall, without visible act of violence, to the ground.

* * *

Meanwhile, alack! for the rare old rousing cry, "Peace, retrenchment, and reform!" What a far-away sound the venerable syllables have now-a-days! They have acquired almost a revolutionary chime to the ear! Nor can we doubt that they would be regarded as a treasonable proclamation by Mr. Chamberlain were he to discover them in the private epistle of a member of Parliament.

* * *

Public interest in all the affairs of the State has been eclipsed for a few days by the great arsenic-in-beer scare. It was really a very frightsome affair. Next to poison in Conservative politics, or in money, or half-penny newspapers, nothing could have threatened more universally the lives of the lieges in England than poison in the national beverage. Like most other ills the common people are heir to, the arsenical adulteration has been traced to our old enemy, Competition for Profit. If only this scoundrelly old Economic Cause could be hoist with his own petard—poisoned, that is to say, with his own arsenical glucose—what a happy day it would be for England! But again—alas that we have to repeat the injunction so often!—Socialism is the only remedy—even for bad beer.

If, however, reports are to be trusted, the English artisan has, as usual, sought for himself a remedy which is likely to prove as perilous as the disease. He has—and what is more, his wife has—it appears taken to whisky drinking as a refuge from the perils of the pint-pot. As a result of this desperate resort there has been, we are informed, quite a lamentable increase in the number of the labouring class seen in a drunken state upon the streets in Lancashire towns. One writer alleges that in a town where formerly a drunken man or woman in the streets was a rare occurrence, he witnessed on a recent Saturday night so many people rolling about intoxicated that he almost fancied for the moment he was walking through the streets of Greenock or Glasgow.

* * *

In an interesting new book upon Ireland, by Mr. Gannon, the author laments that the political movements for Home Rule, or for separation from England, have absorbed the attention of the active mind of the people, to the neglect of more possible piecemeal reforms. He dreams of what Ireland might have been to-day if she had been situated near to Bordeaux, instead of near to Bristol. If she had been a province of France she would have shared in the advantages of the French Revolution of 1789. Large landlordism would have given place to peasant proprietors, the state would have encouraged local manufactures, and patronised the folk-songs and folk-language, the towns would be supplied with cafés and promenades, and the military spirit would have its outlet in a national army, in which every citizen would serve.

* * *

There has passed away in a sadly reproachful fashion a strange but gifted being from the literary world, and all the world that is—Oscar Wilde. By many his genius was appraised very highly, and he was esteemed as a man of light in his day. Maybe in a different age he might have been a reformer; as it was he did not break many chains. He, being a very clever man, saw the truth of Socialism, and wrote a very fine article, entitled "The Soul of Man under Socialism." But his socialism was not our work-a-day socialism, and he was not of our band. He never came near us—not so much as to a single working-man's meeting, so far as we know. He did not like the democracy; the democracy would not have understood him. He had no physicianship for the poor. He liked the rich and all the richness of their ways exceedingly, and only pinched and pricked their follies with his pen as a gallant likes to nip the arms of his mistress. Nevertheless, he had a generous nature, and possessed æsthetic perception and wit of a very rare degree. We regret the merciless judgment that fell upon him. His generation rather than himself was at fault.

Empire and Dishonour.

It would appear as if the last days of the nineteenth century were to be marked in history as a period in which the sentiment of civilisation gave way, and a reversion to barbarism occurred among Western nations—as a period wherein, amidst the highest achievements of science and invention, and the most remarkable development of civic organisation which the world had known, there occurred an outbreak of those homicidal and predatory passion which it was thought had become extinguished in civilised man.

But a few years ago no Englishman would have willingly admitted the likelihood that in the course of a year or two Britain would allow millions of people under its care to starve—thousands and thousands of them falling and rotting on the wayside—without so much as devoting a penny from the national exchequer to mitigate the extremity of their suffering. Nor would he have consented to the notion that almost any conceivable provocation would have induced Great Britain to despatch 250,000 troops, and spend a hundred or more millions of money, to grab up two small republican nations, and in its insensate desperation to stamp out the last vestige of the independence of the two states would have resorted to the barbarity of Tartar hordes. He would have been no less loth to believe that Britain would have joined in a military invasion of China with powers that, in the name of Christian civilisation, swept with fire and sword thousands of men, women, and children into rivers, and in public streets massacred men, women, and children wholesale, with the worst accompaniments of outrage and pillage.

Yet such enormities—the perpetration of which would hardly have been conceivable to us a few years ago—are actual occurrences of the present year, and the greater portion of the British have already become accustomed to them as but commonplace incidents of Imperialist policy.

There are signs, too—very faint ones, perhaps—that this callosity is invading the sentiment of civilization with respect to public conduct within the nation at home. At least it is noticeable (else surely the popular Imperialist Press would not itself have noticed it) that drunkenness, the ravishment of girls in the streets, riot and black-guardism generally, are becoming somewhat customary and apparently sympathetic accompaniments in our chief city of Imperialist excesses abroad. There are, we might almost begin to fear, circumstances enough to awaken the surmise that the civilised nation of Great Britain is beginning to fall into the depraved national habits that were early indications of the rotting away of the great empires of the past.

For ourselves, as Socialists, though our voice may hardly be heard, we protest with deepest indignation against the shameful deeds that are being done in the name of Empire at home and abroad. We declare that the wholesale burning of Boer homesteads, raised with immense human toil in the wilderness, and the penalizing of women and children, is an abominable and cowardly resort—no matter what pretext be alleged in its behalf. We protest against the misgovernment and plunder and neglect in their utmost extremity of the Indian people, and we join with the Socialists of Europe in repudiating the infamous behaviour of the Allied troops in China. Civilization is mocked by such deeds, and the name and fame of Britain are indelibly disgraced.

Freethought in the Nineteenth Century.

The publication of Ernest Haeckels' "Riddle of the Universe at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," seems to mark an anti-climax in the scientific assault upon the religious interpretation of phenomena. Confident and immensely able as the great evolutionist and free-thinker writes (and we honour him highly for his services to knowledge), his book nevertheless leaves an impression of overstrained effort, and a doubtful hypothesis. The expectation which existed in scientific minds 30 years ago that science was, or would be, able to offer a sufficient materialistic rationale of the manifestations of matter and mind, life and creation, has almost passed away. Numerous scientific men, who have abandoned for ever Christian belief, seem to be turning away distraught from dogmatic "materialism," and are finding themselves brought strangely back, as in a circle, to the conviction that there is a power, a mystery, an order—a creative something—in the world, which chemical analysis and physiological investigation is no nearer explaining than the superstitions of old.

Haeckels' book reminds us, however, of how much has been won from freedom of thought during the century. The Church has been finally dethroned as the prescrip-tor of belief either concerning religion or secular knowledge. Men are free in most European lands, and in America and the colonies, to think and write as they choose concerning science, religion, and history. That is a great gain—perhaps the greatest gain of freedom that the century has seen accomplished. Never again, let us hope, shall either Church or State, or any other institution usurp power to dictate opinions or repress freedom of thought and speech upon questions of belief. Let us remember with gratitude the courage and toil of those men who fought and won this great liberty for us—of whom Priestley, Paine, Burns, Byron, Shelley, Owen, Carlyle, Lyell, Darwin, Mill, Huxley, Tyndall, and Bradlaugh were a few amongst the many.

Publications Received.

"The Labour Movement," by L. T. Hobhouse, Second Edition, 98 pp. stiff cover, 1/- nett. T. FISHER UNWIN.
It is sufficient here to notify the issue of this new and cheaper edition.

"Commerce and Christianity," by the author of "Life in our Villages," 205 pp., cloth, 3/6 nett. SWAN SONNENSCHNEIN & Co.

"A precise, definite, and direct application of religious principles to our commercial affairs is the great need of our times. This small book is a plea for such application."—Extract from preface. Well worth reading.

"A Short Account of the Origin and Development of our Guardianship of the Poor," by Mary Simmons. 32 pp., 6d. NATIONAL HOME READING UNION.

In view of the coming Guardians' Elections will be useful.

Advance (San Francisco), Cosme Monthly, The Tocsin (Mel-bourn), People and Collectivist (Sydney), Appeal to Reason, The Labour Pioneer (Cardiff), Maidstone Telephone, Correspondenzblatt, The Throstle (West Bromwich), The Railway Review, Keighley Journal, Daylight (Norwich), Scottish Co-operator, Blackburn Labour Journal, Swansea Workers' Journal, Land and Labour, East Ward Advertiser (Bradford), Justice, Clarion, Labour Leader, Social Democrat, Young Oxford, Chelsea Pick and Shovel, Clapham Independent, Municipal Reformer, Liberty Review, Llais Llafur (Ystalyfera), South West Ham Worker, Nelson Socialist Journal.

It is specially requested that copies of all papers issued by branches be forwarded to Head Office. The Secretary will also be pleased to receive copies of all local circulars and Election addresses.

International Notes.

France.

The French people have shown a wise self-restraint in the presence of ex-President Kruger. The Radicals and Socialists have managed to keep the Jingo intriguers in check for the present. They have not forgotten that the party of 22,000 mayors at Paris was only marred by the presence of the Chauvinist Regis, the anti-Semite. At the Paris Exhibition were many conferences of international reformers, scientists, and workmen, and the Government of France has set an example to our prancing pro-consuls and latter-day Cleons.

Germany.

In Germany, as in England, soldiers at the front are liable to have their letters confiscated. Bebel, the leader of the Socialist group in the Reichstag, had the sympathy of a good part of the members of the House when he attacked the blood-thirsty speeches which the Emperor had addressed to his troops before they set out to "civilise" the Chinese. Pastor Naumann, the leader of the Christian Socialist party, defends official militarism, like Price Hughes in England. Busstag, or fast-day, occurred a few weeks ago. This is nowadays a sort of Bank Holiday, but the papers issued leading articles groaning over the spread of immorality, as instanced by the recent exposure of millionaire Sternberg, a corrupter of young girls, and wholesale briber of the police. The Socialist papers have published a letter, written by an official of the Home Office, demanding subscriptions from rich employers to agitate in favour of a Government bill to crush strikes. In Austria the Socialists are the only politicians in favour of peace, and opposed to the violent racial hatred with which that country is now perturbed.

Russia.

~~The Russian press has been allowed to inveigh against~~ German cruelty in China; the German press exposed the cruelty of Russian troops in Manchuria; the English press is shocked at the doings of all the other armies in the far East; while all the foreign papers are disgusted at Kitchener's Weylerism in the Transvaal. The pot calls the kettle black. The Russian Government is developing trade in Siberia at the national expense, while starving its moujiks abroad. Mr. Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, has left a bequest to be given to the man who has done most for international peace. It is said that Verestchagin, the realistic Russian artist, will probably receive the prize.

Japan.

The Japanese are befouling their hillsides by erecting huge advertisements on hoardings, and the men are buying hideous English clothes. English cheap and shoddy garments have almost destroyed the artistic traditions of India, and it seems probable that they may supersede the exquisitely beautiful female costumes of the Japs. Megalomania and imperialism is, unfortunately, growing in the far East; but the Japanese people have been quite unable to harmonise it with Christianity, and, though tolerant in theology, they do not embrace the Christian religion any more than the more conservative Chinese. The simplicity of life in Japan lessens the force of caste; when all people live on rice, and inhabit houses made of cardboard, they remember that they are composed of the same flesh and blood.

New Zealand.

The *Times* having tiraded against Australian debts, the agents-general of several colonies have explained that these debts represent reproductive assets, *e.g.*, railways, tramways, telegraphs, harbours, bridges, water supply, schools, and other public works. In Victoria seven railways have been built without contractors or middlemen. New Zealand is importing stud horses and bulls at Government expense. Infant industries and growing districts are deliberately encouraged. All men and women over 65, who have lived in the colony 25 years, are entitled to a pension. There is a graduated land tax, graduated especially against absentee landholders. Loans are advanced to bona fide settlers. There is a Government department which undertakes duties of trustees and executors. The details of the Labour Laws, &c., of New Zealand are well described in a little pamphlet by Howard, entitled "New Zealand in a Nut-shell," published at Girard, Kansas, U.S.A.

The School Board Elections.

So far as the School Board elections have gone, the results have proved generally favourable to our I.L.P. candidatures. Seats have, however, been lost to our party in Rochdale, Salford, and Leeds—chiefly by reason of defective electioneering. In the former town, Peter Lee, a well-esteemed representative, has been defeated, owing, we think, to the faulty calculation of the joint I.L.P. and S.D.F. committee, in deciding to run an additional candidate. Recent election results in Rochdale hardly justified such a course. In Manchester and Bradford, our School Board candidates have emerged as successfully as did our Town Council representatives recently in those places. It is interesting to note the variation of policy adopted in the two towns. In the case of Manchester, Fred Brocklehurst and Mrs. Pankhurst, the nominees of the I.L.P. and the Trades Council respectively, ran in association with the United Educational Party; a course justified, we doubt not, by the issues of the contest there. In Bradford, on the other hand, Miss McMillan and the Rev. R. Roberts stood as the joint I.L.P. and Trades' Union candidates, and ran independent of the Progressive Party. The positions upon the poll obtained by the candidates in both cases were highly satisfactory. We are glad to note the gain of a seat at Stockton, where Mrs. H. Jennie Baker has been elected. At Birmingham, the I.L.P. and the S.D.F. separated their forces. In conjunction with the Trades Council and the Socialist Centre, the I.L.P. nominated and supported Mr. Millington, chairman of the Birmingham Trades Council. The S.D.F. refused to take part in the joint candidature, and promoted one of their own. Millington polled over 22,000 votes, and Griffin, the S.D.F. nominee, some 3,000 odd. Both were defeated.

ELECTION RESULTS.

We are holding over a statement of the results of recent I.L.P. Town Council bye-elections and School Board Candidatures till next month.

What the I.L.P. is Doing.

Farnworth I.L.P. has considerably increased its membership and activity recently. The branch has never failed to send its fees to head-quarters during the past four years. On Sunday evening, 2nd December, Bruce Glasier, at the conclusion of the Labour Church meeting, held a conference with the members.

At Nottingham (St. Alban's Ward) the I.L.P. candidate, G. Robinson, has been returned with a majority of 474 over the votes recorded for the retiring Liberal representative. This is the first election success the Nottingham I.L.P. has had for several years, and it is a highly auspicious one.

A large attendance assembled in the Gilfillan Hall, Dundee, on Sunday evening, 25th November, to hear Joseph Clayton lecture, under the auspices of the I.L.P., on "Britain's Real Enemies." The Rev. Walter Walsh, who presided, said he had great respect for the I.L.P., and he believed the party had a great future before it.

George Gale, who stood as the I.L.P. candidate for Leeds School Board, put forward a programme which contained an admirable statement of the Socialist educational principles. He was unfortunately not elected.

Among the very few I.L.P. School Board members who have failed to secure re-election upon the present occasion, we regret to see the name of Peter Lee, of Rochdale. His defeat was quite unexpected by the public, and many who have little sympathy with Socialism expressed regret that his services have been lost for a season to the Board, upon which he has rendered exemplary service to the children and the public.

M. Batty reports cheerily of the Barrow Branch. It has collected £8 7s. for the General Election Fund, and has fought a municipal election in conjunction with several trade unions, coming within 65 votes of beating a strong opponent of 12 years' standing in the Council. The combined committee had to raise £9 to clear expenses, a task which has also been accomplished.

WALSALL.—As a result of the General Secretary's visit to Walsall a month ago, a branch of a dozen members has been formed there.

Blackburn Branch sends its monthly balance sheet regularly to head office. The receipts for October (including balance in hand of £5 17s. 3d.) amounted to £16 13s. 8d.; the expenditure £4 17s. 10d. The latter item included 2s. 6d. for chalk.

Robert Blatchford takes the chair, and Bruce Glasier lectures, for Rotherham I.L.P. on Sunday, 26th January. On the previous evening there is to be a *Clurion* Fellowship dinner.

Bolton I.L.P. has now closed its drinking bar, and there is every sign that a new era of prosperity is before the movement in that town. C. Allen Clarke, James Sims, and many more Socialists who have hitherto held aloof from the branch have joined.

Stockton I.L.P. is hereby heartily congratulated on the election of H. Jennie Baker to the School Board, and also Manchester on the election of Mrs. Pankhurst: two admirable additions to our women representatives.

Notwithstanding some unfortunate experiences of Labour councillors, Wolverhampton seems determined to persist in electing I.L.P. members. At the recent vacancy in St. John's Ward Stewart (I.L.P.) was returned with 418 votes, against Rhodes (L.U.) 264, and James (C.) 40, a majority of 114 over the combined votes of his opponents, which credit is due to Fellows, Jackson, and Frost for the spirit with which they carried on the electioneering, and to Norris, who acted as agent, and who is one of the ablest organisers in our ranks.

Warrington Branch has had a series of Hutchinson Trust lectures from S. D. Shallard. The audiences were fairly good, and the lectures should have considerable educational results.

An I.L.P. sale of work is to be held in Birmingham on Friday and Saturday, 21st and 22nd December. Mrs. Bruce Glasier will open the proceedings on the Saturday.

A municipal bye election was fought on Friday, 2nd inst., in St. Bartholomew's Ward, Birmingham, the Tory candidate polling 886 and A. Keegan, who ran as an Independent Labour candidate, 672, which is a good result.

At a recent meeting of the Birmingham Trades Council Frank Spires (I.L.P.) moved a resolution in favour of affiliating to the Labour Representative Committee (United Labour Party), and got it carried. This means an addition of 25,000 to the affiliated membership.

Independent Labour Party.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

All inquiries with respect to the I.L.P. should be addressed to the above office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming branches are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

I.L.P. PUBLICATIONS.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Large Poster 65in. by 45in. Deals with the aims and position of the Party. Clearly printed, and easily read. Price, 3s. per doz.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Small Poster. Suitable for window display, size 17½in. by 22½in. Price, 9d. per doz.

Members' Pence Cards.—4d. per doz., post free.

Rules.—To insert in Pence Cards (with rubber bands), 4d. per doz.

CAROLINE MARTYN MEMORIAL LIBRARY.

No. 1. *Politics and the I.L.P.*—By John Edwards. Pamphlet, 16 pp. being the paper read at the Annual Conference, 1897, re-written and enlarged. Price, 1d.

No. 2. *Independent Labour Party*.—Statement of Principles. Leaflet, 4pp. Price, 4s. per 1,000.

No. 3. *A Labour Catechism*.—Leaflet, 4pp., arranged in question and answer form. Price, 4s. per 1,000.

No. 4. *What Boards of Guardians Can Do*.—Leaflet, 4pp., by Mrs. Pankhurst. Price, 4s. per 1,000.

I.L.P. News.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

Subscription Rates: One year, 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month, 1½d. Post free. For advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News," Fleet Street, E.C.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, E.C.

No. 45.

DECEMBER, 1900.

New Propaganda & Finance Scheme.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

The following resolution has been adopted by the Council of the Party:—

In view of the strength of the anti-war and social reform feeling existing in the nation, as revealed by the remarkable polls cast under adverse circumstances for Labour and Anti-war candidates at the recent General Election, the Council of the I.L.P. is of opinion that an extensive and systematic effort should be made to strengthen this sentiment, so as to secure the return to Parliament, when next an opportunity offers, of a party which will make the uplifting of the social conditions of the people its first care, and which will combat fearlessly the growing military spirit. To this end the Council hereby resolves to organise a vigorous and sustained educational campaign by means of public meetings, demonstrations, distribution of literature, and by all such other means as experience may suggest. By such a campaign, the Council believes that the industrial, moral, and advanced political forces of the nation may be brought together into harmonious working combination, and whilst keeping the higher aims of Socialism in view, compel early and effective legislation on such matters of public importance as the treatment of the aged, want of employment, housing of the people, intemperance, and kindred questions.

To carry this into effect, it is hereby resolved that a special campaign fund of £1,000 per annum for five years be opened. This fund shall be applied exclusively to the purposes set out above, and shall not be used either to finance elections or in connection with the ordinary work of the I.L.P. organisation, and members and sympathisers are invited to co-operate in carrying out this proposal, either by personal service or monetary contributions.

It is further resolved that for the proper ordering of the financial arrangements of this campaign, a special finance committee shall be appointed by the National Council, and that representatives qualified, in view of the special work to be done, shall be appointed in every centre of population.

That the following form the Financial Committee having charge of this fund on behalf of the N.A.C.:—T.D. Benson, Roby House, Clitheroe, treasurer; John Edwards, Liverpool; Arthur Priestman, Bradford; A. M. Thompson, of the *Clarion*; Miss McMillan, Bradford; Walter Crane, London; W. Hutchinson, Halifax; H. C. D. Scott, Manchester.

The National Council has, we think, taken a wise and timely course in adopting the resolution printed above. The inadequacy of the present scale of propaganda, consequent upon the inadequacy of the funds of the Party, has long been evident. It is simply impossible for the Party to carry on a national agitation for Socialism worthy of its aims, and commensurate with the political opportunities of the period, by means of the present financial method of a shilling a member annually to headquarters. The attempt to do so is proving ruinous to much of the best effort and finest inspiration of our movement. Only a small portion of the membership of the Party is represented by total fees that come in. In many instances the fees intended for the central funds are arrested for local purposes, and never reach our treasurer.

Not only, however, has the capitation fee system failed to function adequately, but even were the dues forthcoming from every member to headquarters, the sum of such contributions would in no degree indicate the paying capacity of the Socialist movement. There are thousands of members who can and ought to afford more than a shilling a year for national purpose. There are thousands of sympathisers who for various reasons cannot or dare not, or will not, become members of a political Socialist party, and who therefore do not at present contribute at all. And lastly, there are members who for certain reasons have no great heart in giving large subscriptions for local purposes but would nevertheless gladly contribute freely for the national objects.

With the beginning of a new century, the National Council is resolved that a new and in every way larger Socialist agitation shall be promoted in our country.

This the Council hopes to accomplish by improving the present course of propaganda, in point of scale, efficiency, and wider distribution, rather than by the adoption of novel methods of agitation. It is proposed to hold large, well-organised demonstrations in the leading industrial centres, for which purpose the Council will enlist the services of the foremost men and women of the British Labour and Socialist movement, and, occasionally, speakers from other lands. It is also proposed that special missions be carried on in districts where public opinion is ripening, and where industrial disputes or local reform agitations arise. It is believed, for example, that with earnest systematic educational effort, half-a-dozen I.L.P. representatives might accompany Keir Hardie into the next Parliament from South Wales alone. In the great industrial districts of Wolverhampton, Durham, and the Tyneside, a revolution in the parliamentary representation of the locality might, at the next General Election, be accomplished by well-directed propaganda.

The Council is also of opinion that the prestige and influence which the Party has obtained by reason of its strength at the municipal polls fits it for taking a much

more prominent part in urging practical measures of improvement upon local reform, political, and religious agencies, than it has hitherto done; and that the time has come when the I.L.P. may rightly assume the initiative in bringing together all practical reform forces, for immediate action in local affairs.

Arrangements are being made to have the new fund inaugurated at an early date, and the Council is sanguine that there will be a prompt and generous response to the committee's appeal.

Payment of Fees to Headquarters.

There must, however, be no misapprehension concerning the maintenance of the ordinary branch payments to headquarters. The new fund is not intended to supplant, but to supplement, the regular contributions of members. The headquarter duties and expenses will not be less, but greater, than formerly—and the greater the better. So far, indeed, from there being any disposition to lessen the need and duty of every member and branch paying the capitation fees, the feeling among all earnest men in the Party is that the rule as to payment of fees must be made more rigid and compulsory.

At present, the income of the head office does not meet the expenditure.

Members and branches have indeed in many instances become amazingly indifferent to their obligation in this respect. This defect is one which will speedily have to be remedied. Branches and members must henceforth regard this matter as duty of first importance.

The national organisation of the Party must be maintained, and for that purpose a regular income from the branches is essential. We are not ashamed of the poverty of the Party: so far as it is honest poverty. But poverty, honest as it may be, though not a crime, is sadly inconvenient. In politics, poverty is a most wasteful and stupid inconvenience. It makes of almost non-avail the hardest toil of our men. It wearies out the enthusiasm of our best members. It has broken the heart of some of them ere now.

Well, then. We are entering upon a new century. Let us do so with high faith in our cause, and with generous means to accomplish it.

The new Parliament has met. But dissemble as it may, it is the same old Parliament of six years ago over again. The infusion of two hundred odd new members has not rejuvenated or invigorated it perceptibly. The Liberal opposition is still feeble in spirit as it is small in body. Already, after only a few days' debate upon the war, the front Opposition bench has surrendered abjectly to the Government. Their resolution, their wit, and statesmanship dissolved pitifully at Mr. Chamberlain's first blast. Only the speeches of half-a-dozen Radicals, together with those of John Burns and Keir Hardie, possessed the authentic note of parliamentary battle.

Buck up! Gentlemen, we would exclaim, for Heaven's sake, buck up, good Liberal front-bench gentlemen! Be not so ashamed of your principles. Let not your own shadow so terrify you. If Liberalism must die, at least let it die game.

When Cecil Rhodes in donating £10,000 to Mr. Parnell's funds stipulated for the retention of Irish

members in the House of Commons, he had, we may suppose, a further object in view than merely the securing of Irish seats in the Imperial Parliament for Mr. Rochefort Maquire and his other satellites. Mr. Rhodes may have foreseen the wretched pusillanimity which the Liberal Party would show in fighting Mr. Chamberlain, if deprived of the support of the Irish members. For even in those days the rival imperialist pretensions of Mr. Chamberlain were beginning to bud. At any rate, there can be no manner of doubt but that in the absence of the Nationalist members (the Irish Party having resolved not to attend the present session) the Liberal Party has made an amazingly infantile attempt at "playing statesmen" against the Tory Administration.

Jottings.

By JOHN PENNY, General Secretary.

Although most encouraging reports are coming in from the localities, showing renewed energy and enthusiasm in the Party, it is to be regretted that the payment of fees is still neglected. In November the sum received was £19 7s. 6d., which indicates that only about one-third of the members have contributed their quota towards the National Funds. It is true the Election Fund is growing rapidly—members are subscribing and collecting remarkably well—but the Election Fund is held by the National Council as a trust and cannot be disbursed for other than purely election work. The fees constitute the main factor of the General Fund from which the ordinary expenses of the Party such as rent, travelling, salaries, etc., have to be defrayed, and if the General Fund is not up to the mark, the Party is bound to run into debt. Many of the larger branches are a long way in arrears with their payments, and I would seriously urge the members to see that some attempt is made to put matters right without delay.

Another point with regard to the payment of fees is that representation at the Annual Conference depends upon the amount a branch has paid during the year. We are all looking forward to a great Conference at Leicester next Easter, for which our local comrades are already making preparations, but our expectations will not be realised unless some of the branches pay up very soon. There are still three months to go before the end of the financial year (February 28th, 1901), but that is none too long a period in which to wipe off the present deficit.

The Conference of Socialist and Labour Elected Persons will be held at Leicester on Good Friday and following day. The joint Secretaries are Ed. R. Pease, Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn, London, and myself. Arrangements are now in hand and we hope that the Conference will be more successful and of even more public interest than any of its predecessors. We shall be glad to receive at an early date the names of the comrades who desire to attend.

I am endeavouring to compile a directory of Socialists—attached or otherwise—in the British Isles. The names will not be published for obvious reasons, but I anticipate that the directory will be of considerable service. I want especially to get in touch with Socialists in out-of-the-way districts. It is just possible that in some of the towns and villages, where there are no branches, I may find half-a-dozen or more Socialists who are quite unknown to each other, and so bring them together. Also, if I find a fair sprinkling of Socialists in some particular district, it may be possible to send down an organiser and secure good results. I shall be obliged, therefore, if readers will send in as many names as they possibly can. The particulars required are (1) Name of Parliamentary constituency, (2) Name of Individual, (3) Correct postal address.

The First Annual Labour Representation Conference will be held at Manchester, on Friday and Saturday, February 1st and 2nd, 1901. The Secretary, J. Ramsay MacDonald, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C., has issued a preliminary notice in which he asks the Socialist, Trade Union, and Co-operative Societies to take early steps to be adequately represented.

Conflicting nominations for the School Board having been put in by the Oldham Socialist Society, the Oldham I.L.P. Clubs submitted the matter to the chairman of the party, Mr. Bruce Glasier, and Councillor Barrett, with M. T. Simm as arbitrator. In conformity with the decision of the arbitrators, one of the candidates was withdrawn.

Campaign Notes.

COUNCILLOR JOHNSTON AT ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.

It was originally intended that Councillor R. A. Barrett should contest the Ashton-under-Lyne division in the I.L.P. interest. Councillor Barrett, being a local manufacturer with an excellent personal and public reputation, there can be little doubt but had he been able to pursue his candidature, a very large vote would have been recorded in his behalf. Acting, however, on medical advice he had reluctantly to resign his candidature some three months before the election. Councillor James Johnston, J.P., of Manchester, was thereupon invited to take up the flag, and was formally adopted several weeks before the dissolution of Parliament. The Liberals, although there existed no probability of their winning the seat even were there no Labour candidate in the field, determined at the last moment to enter the fray, and imported the usual London barrister for that purpose.

It must be confessed that the Ashton Branch, although possessed of a large membership, and many excellent workers, lacked the organisation and electoral machinery essential to a vigorous parliamentary campaign. Councillor Johnston, therefore, from the beginning had a heavy and hopeless task. The vote (739) polled for him, although the lowest recorded on our list, was by no means a negligible or undesirable addition to our returns. By referring to the figures given in our issue for October it will be seen that the Tory vote exceeded the I.L.P. and Liberal combined.

Councillor Barrett, M. T. Simm, W. H. Lodge, and other local friends worked with all their might, and Bruce Glasier, Mrs. Bruce Glasier, the Rev. Charles Peach, Rev. Bodell Smith, Charles Gregory, and many others gave important assistance.

ALLEN CLARKE AT ROCHDALE.

Allen Clarke's candidature at Rochdale has provoked much controversy in Liberal circles in Lancashire. It is declared that but for his presence in the poll the Liberal candidate would have been elected. This statement is not perhaps an extravagant one, in view of the fact that Clarke polled 901 votes, while the Liberal was only 19 short of heading the poll. It is impossible, however, to say how many of Clarke's votes would have been given to the Liberal had Clarke not been in the contest. Evidently, until the declaration of the poll, there still existed in Rochdale a number of Liberals who, notwithstanding the lesson of George Barnes' candidature in 1895, cherished the opinion that it did not greatly matter to their party whether the Socialists ran a candidate or not. They are now, happily, undeceived. Perhaps, too, the Liberals not only of Rochdale but elsewhere in many parts, will now better understand than they have hitherto done the real significance of Independent Labour politics.

The Rochdale candidature was jointly promoted by the I.L.P. and the S.D.F. Splendid meetings were held, Allen Clarke creating a most excellent impression by his speeches, which were of a cast entirely different to the usual run of political harangues. Simple and homely in phrase, and replete with quaint humour, they nevertheless sounded the depths of Socialist and Labour principles. The withdrawal of Mr. Saunders Jacobs, the adopted Socialist candidate, a month or two previous to the election, no doubt greatly prejudiced Allen Clarke's candidature. George Chew acted as election agent, and platform help was rendered by S. G. Hobson, Bruce Glasier, George Barnes, Isaac Mitchell, Rev. H. Bodell Smith, James Sims, and others.

Obituary.

JAMES THOMPSON, OF GLASGOW.

After a long illness from chest trouble, James Thompson, formerly of the Glasgow Socialist League, died at Eaglesham, on Sunday, the 3rd December. James Thompson was one of a considerable group of young men who cut the traces of Liberalism in the early eighties, and entered enthusiastically into the new politics of Land Nationalisation and Socialism. Together with Bruce Glasier, Professor Mavor (now of Toronto), John Warrington, the late Fraser McFarlane, and a few others, he formed the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League in the closing weeks of 1884, and acted as its first treasurer. He was a man of fine sensibility, and with a rare taste for literature and music—qualities which he no doubt inherited from the poet Burns, his great grandfather, whose dark fine eyes he undoubtedly possessed. His death will be lamented by a wide circle of friends.

I.L.P. Demonstrations, &c.

MANCHESTER AND SALFORD I.L.P.

SUCCESS OF SUNDAY EVENING LECTURE COURSE.

The Sunday evening lectures in the St. James's Hall, promoted by the Manchester and Salford I.L.P., are proving highly successful this season. Large audiences are the rule, and the financial results of the undertaking are very satisfactory. The opening meeting took place on November 18, when a musical programme was given by the Manchester Socialist Choir, and short addresses were given by Mrs. Pankhurst, C. A. Beard, and Councillors Sutton and Brocklehurst. On Sunday evening, the 25th, M. T. Simm, of the Land Nationalisation Society, lectured, with Robert Blatchford occupying the chair, the meeting being an overflowing one. On Sunday, 2nd December, Dennis Hird, M.A., was the lecturer, the hall being again filled. A first-rate list of lecturers has been secured to occupy the platform each Sunday evening till the end of March, and the Socialist choir will lead the singing and give occasional selections.

PANKHURST HALL LECTURES.

INAUGURAL LECTURE BY KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

The first annual course of Sunday evening lectures was inaugurated in this fine hall by Keir Hardie, M.P., on Sunday evening, 25th November, a large audience assembling. Keir Hardie, who had journeyed from the afternoon demonstration at Liverpool, was received with enthusiasm, and delivered an address which fitly dedicated the new hall to the work of the party. He declared that in the recent general election, for the first time in our political history, there was an organised and well-thought-out attempt to secure united action amongst the forces of democracy, by which he meant the working classes. The trade unionists, the co-operators, and the Socialists united, and he contended that the result showed how much could be done for Labour candidates, especially when they were all "pro-Boers." He thought the outlook was extremely good for the time when the nation returned to a saner frame of mind. The conflicts of the future would not be between Toryism and Liberalism, but between Socialism and anti-Socialism—betwixt peace and Imperialism.

I.L.P. DEMONSTRATION AT LIVERPOOL.

An important I.L.P. demonstration was held on Sunday afternoon, 25th November, in the Picton Hall, Liverpool, in connection with the visit of several members of the National Council. The hall was filled with about 1,000 people, John Morrissey, president of the Liverpool I.L.P., presiding. Keir Hardie, M.P., Councillor James Parker, of Halifax, and S. D. Shallard, members of the National Council, were the chief speakers. In the course of his address Keir Hardie pointed out that the total vote polled by the 17 Socialist and trade union candidates amounted to 75,642, while their Liberal and Conservative opponents in the same constituencies had polled 108,389. If the Socialists and trade unionists made a big effort they should be able to wipe out that majority by next general election. The meeting attracted considerable attention from the press, all the Liverpool papers commenting upon the I.L.P. in their leading articles.

On the Saturday evening preceding the above, the Liverpool I.L.P. held a successful social to welcome the members of the National Council.

WELCOME TO LABOUR M.P.'s

Under the auspices of the London I.L.P. Federation, a large and enthusiastic meeting to celebrate the election of three Labour M.P.'s—John Burns, Keir Hardie, and Richard Bell,—was held on Tuesday evening, December 4th, in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Road. Mr. W. C. Steadman, ex-M.P., presided, and was supported by a host of notable Labour and Socialist men and women. John Burns was unable to attend. Mr. Frank Smith, L.C.C., moved, and Isaac Mitchell, secretary of the Trades Union Federation, seconded, a resolution congratulating the members on their return, and pledging them the support of the meeting in their efforts on behalf of the workers.

Richard Bell, M.P., in his reply, stated that Hardie had elected to affirm rather than kiss the same book as Mr. Chamberlain. He (Mr. Bell) hoped Mr. Chamberlain would yet see the error of his ways, and become a member of the I.L.P. Keir Hardie, in the course of his reply, said his success at Merthyr was due to the well organised forces of labour, ably assisted by the Liberal anti-war electorate. The proceedings, which were most successful, were concluded with a vote of thanks to the chairman, proposed by W. M. Thompson, of *Reynolds's* newspaper.

PRESENTATION TO COUNCILLOR PARKER.

As a token of admiration for his work as an organiser to the party, and especially for his excellent services as a parliamentary candidate at the recent election, the Halifax I.L.P. resolved to present Councillor Parker with an addition to his library. The ceremony took place before a large audience in the Mechanics' Hall. Mr. T. Butterworth presided, and with him on the platform were J. Keir Hardie, M.P., John Lister, of Shibden Hall, Edward Marsden, and Arthur Taylor. The presentation, which consisted of 65 volumes, included works by Ruskin, Huxley, and other leading authors, was made by Mr. Taylor. Councillor Parker, in accepting the volumes, declared that if his efforts as a propagandist had any merit, that merit lay in striving to interest his fellow workmen in the duties of citizenship. John Lister, Keir Hardie, and others delivered short addresses.

BRADFORD SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS.

A General Meeting of the Bradford I.L.P., was held on Monday, 26th November, to congratulate themselves on the return of Miss McMillan and the Rev. R. Roberts to the School Board. E. Halford, who presided, said that though the poll was not so large as might have been expected, it was large enough to secure the easy return of their two candidates.

Both representatives in reply expressed their appreciation of the enthusiasm of the workers in their behalf, and made fine statements concerning the education policy they intended to urge upon the Board.

Correspondence.

Fred Bramley, of Bradford I.L.P., writes calling in question the remarks which appeared in the October issue of the *I.L.P. News*, on the position taken up by the Bradford I.L.P. towards the Liberal candidates at the General Election. It was stated that the Bradford I.L.P. "had agreed to recommend its supporters in the two other divisions to vote Liberal, on the understanding that the Liberals in West Bradford would vote for Jowett." Our correspondent challenges this statement. He says:—

"No such arrangement was come to, and no such recommendation was made either by Alderman Jowett's election committee or the party. But the policy of the party was contained in the resolution passed as an instruction to the delegates to the election conference, held at Bradford, as follows:—"That in those constituencies where we have no candidate we do not advise or instruct our members as to how they shall use their votes, but that we leave it to their individual intelligence and judgment to use their votes in the manner which they think will best promote the interest of the party and the principles for which we stand."

Florence Groves writes us a letter expressing satisfaction with the tone of the article on the Policy of the Party which appeared in last month's *I.L.P. News*. The letter contains many excellent observations, and but for pressure on our space we would have printed it in full.

I.L.P. RESOLUTION ON THE WAR.

The following resolution was passed by the National Council of the I.L.P. at the out-break of the war, and was confirmed at the Annual Conference of the Party:—

That in view of the terrible sacrifice of life, wide-spread suffering, and the enormous destruction of property, which the present war has entailed, and must further entail if it is prosecuted to the bitter end, we recommend that the Governments of Great Britain and the South African Republic should at once declare the terms of peace that would be acceptable to them, so that it would be possible for either Government by the acceptance of them now or at any time during the course of the war to bring hostilities to a close. We believe that such a declaration would be in harmony with the principles agreed to at the recent Peace Conference at the Hague; that it would be approved by the people of our own and every other civilized land, and that, in addition to probably bringing a speedy end to the present war, it would form a precedent that might save this and other countries from the disaster of war in the future.

Copies of the resolution have been sent to the leading statesmen of all parties.

MONTHLY REPORT FROM HEAD OFFICE.

NOVEMBER, 1900.

- 69 Branches paid Fees in November.
47 " sent reports without fees.
6 " pay fees quarterly.
63 " sent neither fees nor reports.

The income of the Head Office during November was:—

Affiliation Fees	...	£19	7	6
Election Fund	...	129	7	9½
Sales	...	11	15	0
National Branch	...	0	2	0
Sundries	...	3	18	6½

£164 10 10

The Branch Report Sheet for December must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

NEW BRANCHES.

South Gloucestershire—Secretary, Miss Edith Quainton, Down End, near Bristol.

Thornaby—Secretary, H. Wylie, 26, Thornaby Place, Thornaby-on-Tees.

Walsall—Secretary, E. Clark, 31, Caldmore Road, Walsall.

CHANGE OF SECRETARIES.

Barrow—M. Batty, 35, Bk. Hartington Street Nth., Barrow-in-Furness.

Bolton—J. W. Bowden, 35, Park Road, Bolton.

Dundee—James Reid, 11, Herons Lane, Lochee, Dundee.

Glasgow City—Thomas Gallocher, c/o Mrs. Gorrie, 157, Holm Street, Glasgow.

London City—F. E. Green, Oxted, Surrey.

Newcastle—Andrew Morgan, 40, Belvedere Street, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Norwich—D. Thompson, 107, Gloucester Road, Unthinks Road, Norwich.

Branch Fees and Reports.

The following Branches paid fees in November:—

Alveston, 1s.; Annfield Plain, paid; Arbroath, 2s. 6d.; Ayr, 3s. 1d.; Birmingham C., 2s.; Blackburn, 6s. 3d.; Bootle, 2s. 1d.; Bolton, 5s.; Brechin, 2s. 6d.; Bromley, 1s. 7d.; Camlachie, 5s.; Carnoustie, 7d.; Cheltenham, 1s.; Clapham, 3s. 6d.; Consett, 2s. 6d.; Cowling, 2s. 6d.; Darlington, 2s. 6d.; Derby, 10s.; East Ham, 1s. 4d.; Edinburgh, 14s. 6d.; Failsworth, 5s.; Farsley, 3s. 6d.; Finsbury, 7s. 6d.; Gateshead, 12s.; Gillingham, 1s.; Glasgow City, 6s. 3d.; Gloucester, 12s.; N. Kensington, 1s. 6d.; Kettering, 8s. 8d.; Leeds C., 6s. 3d.; Leicester, £5 5s.; Leith, 2s. 7d.; Lesmahagow, 1s.; Littleborough, 2s. 6d.; Long Eaton, paid; Longwood, 6s. 9d.; Lye, 1s.; Merthyr Vale, 1s. 6d.; Milnsbridge, paid; Mossley, 11s. 3d.; Motherwell, 1s. 8d.; Musselburgh, 10s.; Nelson, 18s.; New Marske, 1s. 6d.; Norwich 6s. 6d.; Nottingham, 3s. 3d.; Oakengates paid; Oldham S.S., 1s. 8d.; Paisley, 8s. 4d.; Pendlebury, 5s.; Portsmouth, 5s.; Preston, 4s. 2d.; Rishton, 1s.; Rutherglen, 5s. 6d.; St. Rollox, 3s. 4d.; Shildon, 1s. 10d.; South Shields, 2s. 6d.; Spen Colliery, 6s. 6d.; Spen Valley S.S., 1s. 2d.; Stockton, 4s. 2d.; Sutton-in-Ashfield, 7d.; Tottenham, 1s. 6d.; Townhill, 3s.; Tradeston, 2s. 6d.; Warrington, 3s. 6d.; West Bromwich, 5s.; Woolwich, 3s.; York, 15s.; Ystalyfera, 1s. (69)

The following Branches pay fees quarterly:—

Clydebank, Hawick, London City, Openshaw, Werneth, Workington. (6)

The following Branches sent reports without fees:—

Armley, Ashton-under-Lyne, Attercliffe, Barrow, Bedlinog, Bermondsey, Birkenhead, Bordesley, Bradford, Bridgeton, Brighouse, Cardiff S.S., Chester, Chesterfield, Crewe, Darlaston, Darwen, Dundee, Eccles, Farnworth, Felling, Fulham, Hackney, Halifax, Hartlepool, Hexham, Holbeck, Huddersfield, Islington, Keighley, Kirriemuir, Langley Mill, Liverpool, Manchester & Salford, Mexboro', Newcastle, Penyarden, Rochdale, Rotherham, St. Helens S.S., St. Pancras, Spennymoor, Stockport, Sunderland, West Ham N., West Ham S., Wolverhampton. (47)

The following sent neither reports nor fees:—

Abertillery, Ashford, Aston, Bath, Berkeley, Birmingham W., Burslem, Bury, Chalford, Cirencester, Cleckheaton, College,

Cowdenbeath, Crook, Crosshills, Doncaster S.S., Dudley, Earlestown, Elland, Govan, Grantham, Greenwich, Halton, Heckmondwike, Hollinwood, Horwich, Hull, East Hunslet, Huchessontown, Hyde, Inverness, Kilmarnock, Lancaster, Leeds N., Limehouse, Macclesfield, Maescwimmer, Mansfield, Middlesbrough, Middleton, Montrose, Newport, Normanton, Oakworth, Ossett, Otley, Partick, Peckham, Pudsey, Ripley, Rothwell, Salford W., Southampton, Sowerby, Stalybridge, Stroud, Thornhill Lees, Tyldesley, Vale of Leven, Walkden, Wishaw, Yarmouth, Yeadon. (63)

OTHER CASH RECEIVED IN NOVEMBER.

Sales.—Arbroath, 3s. 8d.; Attercliffe, 8s.; Bootle, 1s. 11d.; Brechin, 9d.; Bridgeton, 10s. 6½d.; Bromley, 11d.; Consett, 10½d.; Dalbeattie, 2½d.; Darlington, 1s. 4d.; Derby, 2s. 4d.; Felling, 10½d.; Gillingham, 10½d.; Glasgow City, 1s.; Kettering, 11s. 4d.; Leeds, 1s. 8d.; Mrs. Macdonald, 3s. 9d.; Manchester, £5 6s. 6d.; Motherwell, 10½d.; Paisley, 3s. 10d.; Penyarden, 5s. 10d.; Rutherglen, 3s. 9d.; Slaithwaite, 4s. 4½d.; South Shields, 10½d.; Stockton, 2s. 4d.; Warrington, 1s. 4d.; West Bromwich, 14s. 8d.; West Ham S. 10½d.; Office, £1 19s. 8½d. Total, £11 15s.

National Branch.—R. Bishop, 2s.

Sundries.—L.G.I.B., £2 10s., Postage, 8s. 4d.; F. Merry, £1; P.H. 2½d. Total, £3 18s. 4d.

Election Fund.—Neil M'Vean, Clydebank, collected, 7s. 6d.; C. Rutherford, Clydebank, collected, £1 3s. 7d.; S. M'Donald, Clydebank, collected, £1 1s.; Clydebank I.L.P., £1; Derby I.L.P., 8s.; A. Cayford, 2s.; F. Summerbell, collected, £1 6s.; R. Cooper, 5s.; F. Tate, collected, 10s.; Gillingham I.L.P., £1 13s. 5d.; Alveston I.L.P. (1st instalment), £1; Consett I.L.P. (2nd instalment), £1 16s. 9d.; Rotherham I.L.P. (3rd instalment), 15s. 6d.; Rotherham I.L.P. collecting cards, £1 4s. 6d.; F. Smith, collected, £1 5s. 3d.; E. Roberts, collected, 2s.; W. J. Rosser, collected, 13s. 3d.; W. Wainwright, collected, 12s. 6d.; H. Booth, collected, 2s.; West Bromwich I.L.P. (2nd instalment), £1; E. Bradfield, collected, 7s. 6d.; F. Lloyd, collected, £1 12s. 3d.; J. Smith, collected, 4s.; J. Hales, collected, £1 4s. 9d.; G. Hales, collected, £1 8s.; A. Finch, collected, 5s. 6d.; Portsmouth I.L.P., £1 7s. 9d.; J. Major, 1s.; H. A. J., Portsmouth, 5s.; W. L. Auger, collected, 3s. 1d.; O. Jenkins, Lye, collected, 5s. 3d.; Collected by Comrades Sparks, Williams, Roberts, Thomas and Tremlydd Jones, Bedlinog I.L.P., £5 2s. 8d.; Bedlinog I.L.P., £2 6s.; Mr. Conybeare, per Miss E. Quainton, 3s. 6d.; F. Smith, collected, 2s. 6d.; Langley Mill I.L.P., collected by George Parr, £1; Spennymoor I.L.P. (2nd instalment), 4s. 6d.; W. Johnston, St. Helens, collected, 15s.; Huddersfield I.L.P. (2nd instalment), £3 15s. 6d.; Carlisle Socialist Society, £1 3s. 6d.; Proceeds of Concert arranged by Spen I.L.P., £2; Newcastle I.L.P., per J. Hownson (2nd instalment), 14s.; Tom Evans, collected, £1; Dundee I.L.P. (1st instalment), £1 2s.; Musselburgh I.L.P., £1 17s.; Lesmahagow I.L.P., 17s. 6d.; Coalburn I.L.P., 13s. 3d.; W. Pritchard, collected, 14s.; J. S. Bruce, collected, 8s. 6d.; H. Lees, collected, 6s.; W. Gee, collected, 5s. 6d.; J. W. A. Ryan, Hyde, collected, £1 16s.; M. W. 1s.; J. P. 1s.; W. Holford, collected, 3s. 6d.; H. Burns and V. Fletcher, collected, £1 10s.; R. Prosser, collected, 9s.; Derby I.L.P., £1 10s.; Mr. Browning, collected, 4s.; Mr. Mitchell, collected, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Jones, collected, 5s.; Mr. Collins, collected, 3s.; Mr. Rowbotham, collected, 1s. 6d.; Mr. Preston, collected, 7s.; Tom Fisher, collected £1; James Carrick, collected, 12s.; S. Drinnin, collected, 10s.; James Wood, collected, 6s. 6d.; Stockport I.L.P., 11s.; C. Burden, collected, 3s. 6d.; A. Bell, collected, 7s. 4d.; A. J., collected, 7s. 5d.; W. Strachan, collected, 2s. 3d.; W. Black, collected, 7s. 3d.; J. Ducat, collected, 3s.; E. Bell, collected, 7s. 9d.; J. C., collected, 2s. 6d.; Per "The Clarion," £19 19s. 10d.; J. Murphy, collected, 7s.; Keighley I.L.P., 5s.; T. Snowden, Cowling, per T. Mackley, 8s. 6d.; Per Huddersfield I.L.P., Fare of Mr. Richardson, of Lincoln, 8s.; Chester I.L.P., 7s. 6d.; Carnoustie I.L.P., 2s. 6d.; T. Dunn, collected, 1s. 9d.; J. Bicknell, collected, 2s. 9d.; F. Comery, collected, 2s.; H. Denham, collected, 8s. 6d.; W. Lamb, collected, 3s. 4d.; S. Savage, collected, 5s. 6d.; J. Wombell, Attercliffe (2nd donation), £1; F. Sheppard, collected, 10s.; Swinton and Pendlebury I.L.P., collected, £3 16s.; Sutton-in-Ashfield I.L.P., collected, 13s. 6d.; Maggie Allan, collected, 13s. 6d.; W. W. Lorimer, collected, 5s.; John McDougal, collected, 8s. 6d.; C. E. Thorp, collected, £1 19s. 6d.; A. Curnock, collected, 16s. 6d.; Ammon Sykes, 2s. 6d.; A. Barrett, collected, 4s.; Mr. Dickenson, collected, 4s.; Rutherglen I.L.P., 3s.; J. Tucker, collected, 15s. 6d.; T. Parkin, collected, 13s.; E. Stoker, collected, £1 2s. 8d.; per W. M. Rutherglen, 4s. 10d.; Returned from Constituencies: Camlachie, £15; Preston, £17 19s. 4½d. Total, £129 7s. 9½d.

I.L.P. NEWS.

THE MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

No. 46. VOL. IV.

JANUARY, 1901.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

THE advent of the Twentieth Century of the Christian era quite woefully belies the promise ascribed to the advent of the first. No glad visitation of sweet messengers of peace joyfully singing in the night, but angels of war, unmistakably grim, have heralded in the new nativity.

* * *

Amidst the altogether sulphurous incense and harsh anthems of modern machine guns, the face of the new century has been unfolded to the Christian world. But the Christian nations have not so much as paused in their battle to behold the aspect of the new-comer, or consider with what offerings of peace they might celebrate the new Christian reign.

* * *

There is, it may seem, even to those who scan the infant century carefully, nothing new or surprising in its shape or cry. But that is only for a few brief weeks, and because we do not discern very cunningly the character of the event that has occurred. The new century is a very marvellous stranger come into our midst; quite different from all the centuries that have ever been, as we shall yet soon enough discover.

But who is there to be found now-a-days skilled enough in signs to forewarn us of the good or ill portents of its birth? What spy-wife will look in upon us, and for our courtesy "keek into the loof" of the new century, and perhaps "croon a rune" for us of the haps and mishaps, the merry endings and the direful destinies that will befall the world by luck of the new century's birth? Alack! the gift of spying into the future is, it would seem, being more and more withheld from mankind, just as the future grows big and bigger with fate!

* * *

True, we have the *New York World* endeavouring to tap, for public advantage, what wells of prophecy may still survive in the literary and political intelligence of our time. But how turbid and scant are the drops that ooze out on its pages! Among them all there is yielded no limpid stream: no clear pool of mystic foreboding like the old Wells o' Weary or Well of St. Keene, not to speak of the sublime—

Siloa's brook that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God.

or the luminous Castalian spring. As the world of thought grows old, the waters of memory and prevision run dry.

* * *

Newspaper symposiums are not usually very attractive reading. Yet the *New York World* symposium provides us with an instructive, if not a very inspired, moisture of wisdom. The statements are elicited by that journal from eminent persons, in response to its

query: "What, in your opinion, is the chief danger social or political, that confronts the coming century?" are more interesting than the usual run of replies to journalistic questions of that order. There is quite a significant accordance between the forebodings expressed in the more notable answers. Socialism and militarism are set forth with considerable unanimity as the two great contending powers to be of the twentieth century.

* * *

It is worthy of note that whereas Socialism in some form or another is hailed with hope by the majority of the writers, there is not one who ventures to express other than alarm at the prospects of the ascendancy of militarism. The Archbishop of Canterbury's deliverance is unique. His Grace, as but curiously befits his office as an overseer of the Christian community, professes that he "has not the slightest idea" of what the chief danger of the new century is or is likely to be. Verily the order of the priesthood and the order of the prophets are still as far asunder as in Biblical days.

* * *

For a whole year the nation has been daily informed by the press that the South African war was virtually at an end. The end of the war is now, by universal admission, further off to-day than twelve months ago. Twelve months ago the war could have been brought to an end by brilliant military operations on the part of the British forces, followed by an offer of honourable and considerate terms of peace by the British Government. The military authorities on the field and the political authorities at home have, however, both blundered and failed, and the whole situation in South Africa to-day is precisely what the pro-Boers predicted it would be if Great Britain persisted in its policy of exterminating the Republics.

* * *

At last even the most implacable section of the press is beginning to betray signs of misgiving concerning the outcome of events not merely in the Transvaal and Free State regions, but in the whole of South Africa. There is a perceptible tremor of anxiety not only with respect to the period of duration of the war, but with regard to what may happen both before and after the war is actually ended. It is impossible even for newspapers to hide from themselves or the public the fact that the British army in South Africa is getting into a hopeless mess, and that the British as well as the Dutch population in South Africa is becoming disaffected alike towards our method of military occupation and towards the political policy of the British Government.

* * *

A somewhat remarkable state of affairs has been brought under public review by the lock-out of lime-stone workers which has just taken place in the Buxton

district of Derbyshire. It appears that the workmen have for many years been compelled to sign a contract every New Year's Day binding themselves not to leave the employment for twelve months. This "agreement" provides also that the employers may dismiss any workman without notice at any time for any breach of the rules or alleged neglect of duty! In addition to these surprising conditions there are many other stringent restrictions upon the workmen, but, it need hardly be said, no complementary ones upon the employers.

* * *

Little wonder that the workmen, who are now to the extent of 850 out of some 1,400 employed enrolled in the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union, have refused this year to sign their liberties as completely away as if they were Kaffirs in a Kimberley compound. The consequence is that they are locked out. Happily, the men have a fine fighting union behind them, and public sympathy is almost entirely upon their side. The revival of the thirteenth century Statute of Labourers, without the formality of an Act of Parliament, is a curious episode in nineteenth century history.

Labour Lecturing as a Means of Livelihood.

Russell Smart has stirred up quite a spirited controversy in the columns of *Young Oxford*, by a blunt, but kindly, criticism of the methods and objects of Ruskin Hall training which appeared in last month's issue of that magazine. Into the merits of the discussion, so far as it relates to the form of training best suited for preparing young men to engage in Labour propaganda, we do not at present propose to enter. In the course of his remarks, however, Smart ventured upon the following observation:—

Any man who takes upon himself the advocacy of Labour in a thorough spirit must sooner or later get his living in the movement. The work is far too engrossing to permit of his gaining a living in any other way. . . . Specialists on particular questions can gain a respectable living as lecturers and writers in the Labour movement.

In replying to Smart in the present issue of the magazine, J. R. Macdonald writes:—

I am inclined to agree that a certain number of men will have to get their living within the Labour movement if they are to give it their best services; but experience seems to show that it is neither good for the movement nor for the men employed by it that this view should be generally encouraged.

Fred Brocklehurst gives his testimony with a characteristic personal note:—

In sacrificing a career for the sake of the Labour movement, I have always held the opinion that, as its servant, I should at least never be allowed to starve. I was speedily disillusioned. At the end of a very short experience I found it necessary to sell my books in order to buy bread. My experience is by no means unique. In the Labour movement, there is no demand for lecturers of a character such as would guarantee a respectable living.

It may be that Smart's phrase, "respectable living," needs definition before a proper judgment can be pronounced upon the point at issue; but we are disposed to think that both his statement and Brocklehurst's are too sweeping, and that Macdonald's remarks best meet the case. Our impression is that I.L.P. and Labour Church

lecturing, the fees, exclusive of railway fares, of professional speakers, run from 5s. to 7s. 6d. for week night lectures, and from 10s. to 20s. for two lectures on Sundays. One or two speakers, now seldom lecturing in the movement, may have charged more. It must be remembered, however, that only rarely can week-night engagements be obtained without wide and costly travelling; and that as a consequence speakers have chiefly to depend upon their Sunday engagements for their earnings. There are probably not more than a score of men and women lecturers and organisers, all told, in the I.L.P. movement who depend upon the movement for a living, and of these not one half, we believe, average 30s. a week. Recently Robert Blatchford has urged in the course of his remarks at Fellowship gatherings that lecturers should be better paid. We think his plea will be generally approved. A lecturer's life is a hard and harassing one, and his speaking life is often of short duration. While it is desirable that no one should be tempted into lecturing by the hope of high remuneration, it is no less important that capable lecturers should not be discouraged from entering or continuing in the movement as lecturers, because of the inadequacy of the wages received. A high standard of ability and education, not to speak of genius, is required of our lecturers, if the movement is to be sustained with teaching worthy of its aim.

Memorial to William Morris.

Mr. Holman Hunt unveiled a bust of the late William Morris at the Walthamstow Public Library, on December 15th. The bust was a presentation of Mr. J. Passmore Edwards, and it was given to commemorate the association of William Morris with Walthamstow where he was born in 1834.

In the course of his address Mr. Holman Hunt said Walthamstow had just reason to be proud of its connection with William Morris, who had done so much for decorative art. Decorative art was, at the beginning of the century, at a very low stage, and when William Morris first rose to a life of activity in no other country than England had there been a more degraded taste for ornamentation in furniture, and in decorative objects. Morris had applied himself with a strong will to his work with good results. Turning to Morris's work as a Socialist the speaker said Socialism came to him simply as a consequence of his love of beauty. He saw in the world with impetuosity that there was greed on the part of the people who had the means of being beneficent to their neighbours, and that there was indifference, and that this should be rectified. Morris's work was the outcome of his profound study of nature and art.

RECEIVED: Advance, Herald of the Golden Age, Clarion, Daylight, Llais Llafur, Keighley Journal, Municipal Reformer, Scottish Co-operator, The People and Collectivist, Fabian News, Correspondenzblatt, Railway Review, Land and Labour, Pioneer (Pendlebury), Swansea Workers Journal, Social Democrat, Social Democrat (America), Maidstone Telephone, Preston Argus, Manchester, Liberty Review, The Tocsin, Blackburn Labour Journal, Labour Gazette, Justice, Nelson Socialist Journal, and Labour Leader.

A People's Palace and Corporation University has been founded in Paris by Deherme on similar lines to the institution which has been so successful in Brussels. The International Socialist Bureau has been appointed, and will meet regularly in Brussels.

International Notes.

Germany.—The bankers of Berlin are having a bad time. Many of the mortgage banks have been breaking the law as to proportionate securities, and some of the culprits have been prosecuted, one or two being exiled. There is a strong anti-Semite feeling in Berlin, as in Vienna, the Jews being the cleverest and most unscrupulous financiers. Millionaire Banker Sternberg has been found guilty of procuring young girls for immoral purposes and bribing the police.

A series of excellent articles has been appearing in *The Municipal Journal*, describing the municipal collectivism of Düsseldorf. The City Council deals with all the usual municipal functions, and with education, pauperism, hospitals, pawnshops, theatres, and docks also. Land values are taxed. All taxes are collected simultaneously, the town retaining its share, and passing on the rest to the State. No money is wasted upon paying lawyers' fees, in promoting bills in Parliament, or in Local Government Board inquiries. Municipal powers follow from the national code on the subject, founded mainly upon the reforms made by Stein nearly 100 years ago. The burgomaster is an expert, and receives £1,000 a year for twelve years. He does all that is done in England by town clerk and mayor. Peculiarly satisfactory is the treatment of the meat question. All meat is scientifically examined; all animals are killed in the municipal abattoir. Inferior meats are labelled, and priced as such. Covered vans and ice-stores are provided. The director of the abattoir receives £250 a year. This salary compares well with the monstrous sum that Professor Kennedy has just been voted by Manchester.

America.—Professor Haeckel has retained his freedom of speech at Little Jena in Germany, while in "free" Republican America Professors Bemis, Herron, and Ross have been evicted by the capitalists from their chairs, and even Professor Ely was solemnly tried for talking Socialism, and only escaped expulsion by one vote. An American capitalist, called Rouss, who has been engaged for years piling up dollars and poring over office work for twelve hours a day, has lately become blind. A poor man has been found with similar eyes to those of Rouss, and experiments have been made on this *vile corpus* (at the expense of the capitalist) on the chance of a successful method of restoration being discovered. Rumour has it that ambitious surgeons sometimes use dogs and even paupers with similar objects.

A Government report, by a Mr. Erskine, says that life in Chicago is very short. The average age in the best engineering shops is 32, and it does not pay the employer to keep men after 40 who have begun to lose speed or sight. It is a hard matter for artisans and clerks beyond the age of 45 to get a job, for the theory is that by that time they should either be worn out or have got into the exploiting class.

Russia.—It is said that the Russian Government is proposing to nationalise all the coal mines in that empire. A State monopoly of the sale of alcohol has been established for five years, and Mr. Raffalovitch told the Statistical Society in London that this reform had lessened drunkenness and crime, and brought a considerable revenue to the State.

Forecasts of the New Century.

Many interesting replies have been received by the *New York World* from eminent people to its question, "What, in your opinion, is the chief danger, social or political, that confronts the coming century?" The following are among the most notable statements, and may afford texts for I.L.P. speakers.

Earl of Wemyss.—Socialism, the State, and municipalities trying to play the part of Providence and traders.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—I have not the slightest idea.

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P.—Newspapers!

Mr. Frederick Harrison.—The political danger of the future is the tendency of the enormous armies, fleets, and military resources now accumulated by the Powers of Europe to tempt their rulers and peoples to struggle for ascendancy, mainly in Asia and in Africa. The social danger is the tendency of the rich and the poor, both having different but immense power, to engage in a struggle for mastery instead of seeking to develop their respective types of moral civilization.

Lord Charles Beresford.—The Chinese question.

Mr. Keir Hardie.—Militarism.

Dr. A. Conan Doyle.—I should say the uncontrolled supremacy of an ill-balanced, excitable, and sensation-mongering press.

Mr. William Watson.—Greed.

Mr. Gilbert Parker, M.P.—Apart from international questions incident upon the extension of the Empire, to my mind the greatest danger to the welfare of the world in the coming century will be the spread and power of big monopolies and trusts.

Dean Farrar.—The chief social danger is the dominance of drink. The chief political danger is our apathetic laxity in facing serious problems.

Mr. Max O'Rell.—An irresponsible and unbridled press.

Mr. Arthur W. Pinero.—Trades Unions—the relations of workmen and employers.

Mr. Zangwill.—The reactionary reversion of mediæval ideals of militarism, caste, and ecclesiastical despotism ere they have been sufficiently purged by modern thought.

Miss Ellen Terry.—A lack of simplicity—in thought, manners, and customs.

Mr. Walter Crane.—Socially, it appears to me, the chief danger that confronts us—a disease which seems to affect all countries, but more especially those that claim to be in a state of advanced civilisation—is the pursuit of money, and the guaging of everything by a money standard. Politically, the chief danger is the craze for expansion—big Empires—and the extinction of small but brave independent races and States.

Bishop of Raphoe (Dr. O'Donnell).—Mutilated education—that is, education without religion.

Mr. Karl Blind.—Imperialism.

Madame Sarah Grand.—The sapping of the foundations of society by laxity in the matter of marriage.

The Rev. Hermann Adler, Chief Rabbi.—The recrudescence of racial antipathies and national animosities.

Mr. George R. Sims.—The spread of insanity.

Mr. William Archer.—I think the need of the coming century is some sort of socialism, while the danger is that it should take the form of a military socialism mechanically enforced instead of a democratic socialism organically developed.

Ouida.—Tyranny; tyranny of majorities; tyranny, military, medical, scientific, political.

M. de Blowitz.—In my opinion the chief danger that confronts the coming century is a universal and violent coalition of those who have everything to gain against those who have something to lose.

Dr. Max Nordau.—The chief danger, threatening civilisation itself, seems to me to be that infernal selfishness called by pseudo-philosophers "Individualism." "Individualism," such as preached by the madman Nietzsche and brought into fashion by his contemptible followers, necessarily leads to barbarism.

Sir L. Alma Tadema.—The increasing loss of respect for work.

Mr. Stead.—General war, which threatens Christendom, as the result of ignoring Christian principles in its dealings with one-fourth of the human race which is born inside a yellow skin.

Mrs. Ormiston Chant.—The glorification of sordidness.

Mr. Chamberlain wants Australia to grant Lord Hopetoun a salary of £20,000 a year. In the Victorian Assembly the proposal to vote £3,000 for this end was rightly voted by Labour votes.

What the I.L.P. is Doing.

The members of the National Administrative Council will be present as delegates at Labour Representation Conference which is to be held in Manchester, on Friday and Saturday, February 1st and 2nd.

Derby branch has recently obtained an addition to its membership in the persons of two curates and an influential lady member.

The Shrewsbury Socialist Society has resolved to become a branch of the I.L.P. Philip Snowden addressed a large public meeting there recently, and Bruce Glasier is engaged to speak there on January 24th.

Stockton I.L.P. is holding a Sale of Work on Saturday afternoon, 2nd February. Bruce Glasier will open the proceedings, and lecture on the Sunday following.

Openshaw I.L.P. has begun the century with two good resolutions, viz: to order several dozen *I.L.P. News* monthly, and to run a candidate for the forthcoming District Council elections.

A Labour Church has been formed in Ashton. The Church and the I.L.P. will be in friendly relations.

The Rev. R. Roberts, I.L.P. Representative on the School Board, is contributing articles regularly to the *Ethical World*.

The Manchester and Salford I.L.P. has resolved to endeavour to enrol 1,000 new members by Easter. A Propaganda Sub-Committee is vigorously taking the matter in hand.

The Blackburn Branches of the I.L.P. and S.D.F. are running Councillor Higham and Comrade Seed for the School Board.

The *Clapham Independent* is the title of a new-four page monthly issued by the Clapham I.L.P.

Russell Smart has raised an interesting discussion in the pages of *Young Oxford* on the training of Labour propagandists. J. R. Macdonald and Fred Brocklehurst contribute their views in the current number.

Midland Notes.

Birmingham walls are placarded with advertisements from the breweries explaining that (carefully selected) samples of their beers have been analysed by various medical men, and found to be "pure, and free from arsenic." The "free" publicans have held indignation meetings against the pharisaism of the big brewers, who first introduced the "long pull" in tied houses, and then suggested that the magistrates should revoke the licenses of "free" little publicans on the ground that they bribed customers by using the very artifice that the monopolists had invented. William Bass comes of age this year, and is endowed to the tune of £50,000 a year.

The Labour Church and the Quakers have passed resolutions against the proposal that Birmingham should grant the freedom of the city to Lord Roberts. Alderman Martineau is to speak and vote against the proposal: but it is rumoured that the members mean to lie low, and that the Quakers will simply walk out of the Council Chamber when the matter is put to the vote.

The Official Receiver in bankruptcy stated the other day that pictures worth £1 were often sold in Birmingham at £100, and he added that "this is only a statement as to the morals in trade."

The star Dissenting preacher of the Midlands receives £900 a year salary, charges cab-fares to his flock, and warns his ministerial brethren to talk less of housing and more of heaven. The same "free" church runs a mission in the slums, and sweats its caretaker and curate. One of the most respectable Church-wardens of the city has been embezzling the Church funds. A Gloucester clergyman has just died worth £68,000.

The monopoly prices in coal, the poisonous discoveries in beer, and the agitation against monopoly railway rates, have given local Socialists a chance of writing useful letters to the local press. Now that several deputations have voiced the feelings of Midland farmers and manufacturers on the subject of expensive transport, even the *Tory Gazette* observes that Railway Nationalisation may some day come to pass.

A leading Wolverhampton solicitor has surrendered himself to the police on the charge of having misappropriated £2,000. The Midland papers, astounded at the spectacle of a respectable gentleman confessing his sins in public before being found out, suggest that he made the confession whilst suffering from an attack of religious mania. J.A.F.

Independent Labour Party.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

All inquiries with respect to the I.L.P. should be addressed to the above office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming branches are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

I.L.P. PUBLICATIONS.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Large Poster 65in. by 45in. Deals with the aims and position of the Party. Clearly printed, and easily read. Price, 3s. per doz.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Small Poster. Suitable for window display, size 17½in. by 22½in. Price, 9d. per doz.

Members' Pence Cards.—4d. per doz., post free.

Rules.—To insert in Pence Cards (with rubber bands), 4d. per doz.

I.L.P. News.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

Subscription Rates: One year, 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month, 1½d. Post free. For advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News," Fleet Street, E.C.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, E.C.

No. 46.

JANUARY, 1901.

At the beginning of this New Year and this New Century, I venture to offer, on behalf of the National Council of the Independent Labour Party, hearty greetings to all members of the Party and to all Socialists and friends of Labour and Peace in the land. And these, I am sure, will join with me in wishing utmost success to the world-wide cause of Socialism and Peace during the coming years, and in sending fraternal greetings to the Socialists and the people struggling for freedom in every nation and in every territory in the world.

J. BRUCE GLASIER, Chairman.

Into the New Century.

The Nineteenth Century, which, until a few days ago, has borne us convoy all our lives, is now gathered into the centuries of the past. Already, like a boat suddenly cut adrift from a speeding vessel, it lessens quickly in size as it recedes rapidly towards the horizon. And yet the nineteenth century must be regarded as indisputably the most fateful hundred years in the history of the human race. In no other century that has been, so far as is known to us, have the material means of civilisation been so amazingly created by man, or the knowledge concerning all things in the world been so remarkably increased. And these achievements have suddenly brought the whole earth within the grasp of civilised man, and brought him face to face with not only problems of dominion never thought of before, but with problems of his own destiny, which he hardly dares himself think upon.

To many among us the old century must seem to take away with it a great part of the treasure of their lives. For long their eyes will linger back wistfully on the more shapely and more friendly days when yet the fame of the great poets was as a luminous after-glow in the literature of the nation. Scott, Shelley, Byron, Keats,

Wordsworth, and all the tuneful host—how far away they seem to us now! The great thought-bearers, too, of the mid-century, Mill, Carlyle, Faraday, Lyell, Darwin, and their companions—how dimly their light begins to twinkle through the years!

And sad also to many of us must be the thought that the England and Scotland of our early imaginings is fast being effaced from the world. The land of our youth, full of the history of our nation's up-growth, its sturdy old literature, its old Gothic architecture, its old villages with their quaint customs, its innumerable dialects, its meadows and lonely hills and far away places, its shepherds and milkmaids, and jolly farmers—will soon cease to be found anywhere, wander we howsoever far or wide between the seas.

It is a strange place this, in midst of the universe, to which we have come! In yet a little while, there will be no new land, or people, or animals, or vegetation in the world to be discovered; no new place where men may go. There will be no real solitude anywhere on the earth: this one-time great, mysterious, immeasurable world of ours will be as a little island round which we can go in a few days. Already almost it begins to seem too small a place for the human mind and body to dwell in for ever, and quite seriously have men begun to speculate on the possibility of reaching other worlds out in the great space beyond.

In a hundred years hence what will men have done with the world? What will they have done with the inferior races of men? What will they have done with the birds?—will the skylark and the crow have room or peace to live? Will the great tall forests all be devoured, and all the sweet primal freshness of earth, sea, and sky be stained with the constant tread and breath and sound and havoc of human life?

A hundred years hence what will mankind have done with itself? Will man be truly much greater and better in his humanity than to-day? Will all his scientific achievements—his conquests of the powers of nature, avail him much more for his soul's elevation and his social happiness than the conquests of a baser order in the past? Will the poor still be with us? Will men still cheat and lie and slay for gain? Will there be the fury of war and massacre, and burning of nation by nation, that rages in Africa and Asia at this present day?

Alas! we cannot know: we hardly dare surmise. With little but our faith in Socialism to give us hope, we cross the threshold of the new century, shutting the door for ever on the vast twilight of things behind us, and going into unknown and almost deterrent brightness.

J. B. G.

The Political Orator as a Scapegoat.

THE political orator is a much-abused person. He is always a fit object upon which the excellent moralists in the public press may explode their exasperation against the nature of things. He and his oratory are held responsible for most of the political evils the world is heir to. He is the arch enemy of democratic enlightenment, an abettor of the political ignorance, folly, and cupidity of the masses. He is denounced with no more compunction than were he an editor's dog or rival pub-

lisher. All manner of derogatory epithets are flung at him—even such terrific names as "spouter," "wind-bag," "gas-bag," "blatherskite," "tub-thumper," "swash-buckler," and the like synonyms, are piled into type, and shied at him promiscuously. The political speaker is, we say, a much abused person.

Why, indeed, we might ask, should the public speaker be held up by gentlemen of the press to public odium in this unmannerly way? Why should the term "professional politician" be used as a term of reproach by the professional journalist or tractarian? Public speakers and professional politicians are, we venture to allege, often gentlemen and men of honest conviction, even as public journalists and writers of books sometimes are. Nor do we know of any vice attached to the advocacy of opinions by speech that does not cling to the advocacy of opinions by the pen. Insincerity and clap-trap—the vices most frequently charged against speakers—are not more easily or commonly practiced on the public platform than in the public press. The writer may write with his tongue in his cheek quite as conveniently as the speaker, and is less liable to be discovered at the game. The speaker has at least to stand face to face with his audience—his every expression of tone and gesture being under the scrutiny of surrounding ears and eyes, whereas the writer is hidden like the spider in his cell. At worst, the speaker may orate with a mask, while the writer may remain in inscrutable anonymity.

Speech of tongue is the primal mode of expression, and in every important crisis of life it is the final mode. It is a more direct and reliable method of utterance than writing can possibly be. It requires at least as much personal courage and no more self-esteem. It cannot be more productive of self-righteousness. It is quite as wholesome an exercise as writing, and by reason of its salutary effect upon the system, has an agreeable antibilious reaction. Professionalism in politics—the associate sin of public oratory—is an avocation that no doubt lends itself to serious abuse, just like professionalism in literature, art, science, and cricket. The professional politician may be a knave, as likewise may his brother of the pen, the pallet, the forceps, and the willow. But professional politicians may also, as we have already ventured to suggest, be moderately honest men, and may even be imbued with sincere convictions, just like their next door neighbours. They may have become politicians for pay, for advancement, for reputation, for their liking of the thing, or because urged by a strong sense of duty. It is even so with professional authors, artists, musicians, soldiers, explorers, and schoolmasters.

Often, no doubt, the political orator speaks when he better had remained silent, but even in this respect he is no more unfortunate or blameable than his censors in the press. He may, alas, sometimes dress well, and if he toils on the popular side, or on the side of vested interests, may even become rich; but here again he will seldom fail to find an editor or a poet flourishing at his elbow.

Public speaking and the work of political agitation is not only a needful, but an honourable vocation. The world owes as much to its prophets and agitators as to its poets, essayists, story tellers, or philosophers. Jesus and the apostles, to whom even the newspapers usually refer in terms of respect, were public speakers—not authors or artists. St. Columba, Wycliffe, John Ball,

Luther, Knox, Wilberforce, Ernest Jones, Bradlaugh, and William Morris were all politicians and demagogues in their way. Oratory itself is a very noble art, and its function is very high, and the orators and lecturers in the Labour and Socialist movement have rendered priceless service to the nation.

The scheme for raising £1,000 a year for a special propaganda crusade has now been launched. The Committee appointed by the National Council is now obtaining contributions and guarantees towards the fund. It is expected that in the course of a few weeks the sum fixed upon to form a preliminary fund will be more than covered, and a general public appeal, with a list of the subscriptions to the preliminary fund, will then be issued.

Jottings.

By JOHN PENNY, General Secretary.

I have again to remind branches that there is urgent necessity for them to pay their fees without delay. In December a larger number than in any of the previous months during the financial year paid, but even then the total was very small. Only two months—January and February—now remain in which to make up the arrears of the past ten. If the fees are not paid two evils must result: (1) the N.A.C. will become more and more involved in debt, and (2) the branches will not have qualified to send delegates to the Easter Conference, which consequently will be a very tame affair. It is surely not necessary to speak more strongly on this question. I trust that the branches recognising the danger will take instant steps to avert it.

Resolution and nomination forms for the Conference have been sent to the branches. If any secretary has not received an adequate supply, I shall be obliged if he will write me at once. Resolutions and nominations must reach Fleet Street by Saturday, February 9th.

I feel that I can, and ought, to congratulate the Dundee and Farsley branches for the excellent way in which they have advertised the movement during the past month. The resolution on the war passed by the Dundee Branch and forwarded to Sir John Leng has been re-produced in almost every important newspaper in the country, and the stand of the Party against the war has thus been brought most clearly before the public. The Farsley branch passed a resolution against the General Powers Company and forwarded it to the various local authorities in the West Riding of Yorkshire. This also has been widely published, and has formed the text of a leading article in that sober and influential journal "The Councillor and Guardian," thus making the I.L.P. position on this question absolutely clear to all municipal reformers. I consider this good business. The more widely our principles are known, the more widely will our influence extend.

Speaking of General Powers Companies reminds me that a way of checkmating them has been devised in the district lying just north of London, where the Urban District Councils of Tottenham, Wood Green, Southgate, Enfield, and Edmonton, have formed a joint committee, which is promoting a bill in Parliament to enable them to establish joint electric works, which are to be located at Edmonton, the centre of the five districts. If they get their Act, they will be able to manufacture current in bulk quite as cheaply as any General Powers Company and thus thwart the designs of the would-be monopolists. The joint committee owes its initiation to the I.L.P. member of the Tottenham U.D.C., Councillor Broadbank.

I would strongly advise every branch of the Party to make application to their local councils and boards for copies of the agendas, minutes, and other official papers. Some local authorities make a point of supplying them to societies and clubs in their districts, and there is no reason why all should not do so. If branches obtain these and study them, they will get a much better knowledge of their local affairs than they can get from the newspaper reports, and in municipal matters "Knowledge is power." Each branch also should tell off some of its members to attend the council and other meetings and report to the branch upon the attitude of certain members of the council or board. Information thus gathered will prove invaluable at election times.

Election Results.

SCHOOL BOARD.

Tottenham	... Harvey	... Not-elected	... 2,844
Liverpool	... Reeves	... "	... 20,690
Halifax	... Taylor	... Re-elected	Unopposed.
"	... Butterworth	... "	"
Stockton	... Mrs. Baker	... Gain	... 5,065
Gateshead	... Drummond	... Re-elected	Unopposed.
Bradford	... Miss McMillan	... "	... 20,670
"	... Roberts	... "	... 19,610
Manchester	... Brocklehurst*	... "	... 37,123
"	... Mrs. Pankhurst	... Gain	... 34,502
Rochdale	... Lee	... Loss	... 5,294
"	... Mrs. Chew	... Not elected	... 4,474
Salford	... Thompson	... Loss	... 9,489
Oldham	... Potter	... "	... 7,006
"	... Pulfer	... "	... 3,873
Salford	... Hunt	... "	... 9,324

Summary from March 1st to December 31st.—26 candidates, 6 gains, 10 re-elected, 5 losses. Total vote 200,247. Highest vote in any previous year 94,105. Several losses have been occasioned by running an increased number of candidates.

Protective Legislation and Low Wages.

It is estimated (writes Sidney Webb in a recent article) by so cool an observer as Sir Robert Giffen that no fewer than eight million persons (or a quarter of the entire population) in the United Kingdom are existing below the standard of a pound a week per family. It is surely no mere coincidence that these eight millions of people correspond almost precisely with the classes excluded from the protective legislation (*i.e.*, Factory Acts, Compensation Acts, Municipal Bye-laws, etc.), which has proved so advantageous to their fellows. The eight millions—positively a larger number, though of course a smaller proportion of the whole than existed in such a state a hundred years ago—form the legacy which the Nineteenth Century leaves for the industrial statesmen of the Twentieth.

We hear that Eltweed Pomeroy, of Newark, New Jersey, president of the Direct Legislation League, secretary of the National, Social, and Political Conference of 1899, and chairman of the Programme Committee for the Conference of 1901, V.P. of the Public Ownership League, member of the Farmers' Alliance, Knights of Labour, &c., expects to be in England during February, and will be glad to lecture anywhere for railway fares for himself and Mrs. Pomeroy and one guinea. His subjects are Direct Legislation, Christian Socialism, American Politics, Past and Future, &c. Dates between February 1 and 21 can be booked on application to the Fabian Society, 3, Clements Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

CHESTERFIELD AND DISTRICT CLARION FELLOWSHIP DINNER AND SMOKER, Assembly Rooms, Market Hall, Wednesday, January 23rd, 1901, at 6-30 p.m. NUNQUAM will preside. Tickets: Dinner and Smoker, 2s. 6d.; Smoker, 6d. May be obtained from W. F. Fisher, Market Hall, and T. W. Swift, Secretary, 22, Queen Street, Chesterfield. Ladies specially invited.

PRACTICAL PRINTING OUTFITS,

Including Self-Inking Press, Type, &c., from £3 3s.

Gradual Payment if required.

E. NEWBERY, 45, Lyham Road, Brixton, LONDON, S.W.

International Socialist Bureau.

The scheme for instituting an International Socialist Bureau, projected at the recent International Congress, has now been completed. The Bureau, which is to be located in Brussels, has now been definitely constituted by the authority of the Socialist organisations of the various nations. The following circular, the first issued by the Bureau, will explain the scope of the International Bureau:—

DEAR CITIZEN,

BRUSSELS, Dec. 15th, 1900.

We have now the pleasure of announcing the definite constitution of the International Socialist Bureau. The delegates of most of the European nations are now appointed; those of Outre-Mer will be in a few weeks. The nomination of Victor Serwy (Zeo) as secretary has been ratified by the various nationalities, and also by the Congress of the Belgian Labour Party of November 19 last. The appointment of Edward Anseele and Emile Vandervelde, as delegates, has been approved. E. Anseele has been chosen by us treasurer. It is, therefore, to his address (Edouard Anseele, Rue du Jambon, Gand), that you will be good enough to send your share towards the expenses of establishing the Secretariat.

We think it will be of use to recall in this first circular the terms of the resolution of the Congress for the formation of the International Bureau, in order to give a precise statement of the part it is to play, its powers, and its duties.

RESOLUTION I.

The International Socialist Congress of Paris, considering:

That it is important for International Congresses, which are designed to become the Parliament of the proletariat, to pass resolutions which shall guide the proletariat in its struggle for deliverance; and

That these resolutions which are the result of an international understanding should be put into action, has decided to take the following steps:—

(1) A committee of organisation shall be named as quickly as possible by the Socialist organisations of the country where the next Congress will be held;

(2) A permanent International Committee, consisting of two delegates from each country, shall be formed, and shall provide the necessary funds. It shall fix the agenda of the next Congress, and shall ask for reports from each nationality taking part in the Congress;

(3) This Committee shall choose a paid general secretary, authorised:—

- (a) To obtain necessary information.
- (b) To draw up a code explaining the resolutions passed at former Congresses.
- (c) To send out reports on the Socialist movement in each country two months before the new Congress.
- (d) To give a general summary or view of the questions discussed at the Congress.
- (e) To publish from time to time brochures and manifestoes on questions of general interest, as well as on important reforms, and studies dealing with serious questions concerning politics and economics.
- (f) To take measures necessary for furthering the international organisations and action of the proletariat in all countries.

RESOLUTION 2.

The International Socialist Committee may require from national Socialist parliamentary groups the organisation of a special Inter-parliamentary Commission to facilitate common action concerning great political and economic questions which are international in character.

This Commission shall be connected with the International Socialist Committee.

RESOLUTION 3.

The International Secretariat, having its seat at Brussels, shall be required to collect and arrange the international archives of Socialism by centralising books, documents, and reports which relate to the Labour movement in the different countries.

The Congress also decided that the nomination of the two delegates of each nation should be submitted to the ratification of the proletariat of each country. The income of the International Bureau has been fixed at 10,000 francs (£400), and it has been decided that the principal countries (Germany, England, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, and the United States) shall contribute each 800 francs (£32), and the other

countries (Norway, Poland, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Japan, Argentine Republic, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Sweden, Iceland, Hungary, Australia, &c.) shall contribute 200 francs each (£8).

These are the various resolutions which your committee will endeavour to apply and carry out, with the help of our Socialist friends of every nation. Already we have received from several delegates various propositions which we are examining, and upon which we shall have to hold consultation with you.

For the moment, we think the most urgent task incumbent upon your Bureau is (1) to get into touch with all Socialist organisations, Labour Parties, Parliamentary groups, press, &c.; (2) the codification of the resolutions of the Congress, and the carrying of them out.

In the meantime we beg you to indicate those points which, in your opinion, are of a nature to render the action of our Bureau efficacious and worthy of consideration.

Finally, we ask all Labour Parties who have not yet done so to be good enough to send us:—

1. The names and addresses of their delegates.
2. The name and address of their correspondent.
3. The name and address of the secretary of the party.
4. The name and address of the treasurer of the party.
5. The head office of their organisation.
6. The name and address of their principal journals and papers.

We are the interpreters of the Belgian Labour Party in thanking our comrades of all nationalities very heartily for the confidence which they have shown in choosing our country as the headquarters of the International Bureau. We shall do our utmost to prove ourselves worthy of the task which is assigned to us. Vive l'Internationale.

The Members of the Executive Bureau,

EDOUARD ANSEELE.

EMILE VANDERVELDE.

VICTOR SERWY, Secretary.

I.L.P. RESOLUTION ON THE WAR.

The following resolution was passed by the National Council of the I.L.P. at the out-break of the war, and was confirmed at the Annual Conference of the Party:—

That in view of the terrible sacrifice of life, wide spread suffering, and the enormous destruction of property, which the present war has entailed, and must further entail if it is prosecuted to the bitter end, we recommend that the Governments of Great Britain and the South African Republic should at once declare the terms of peace that would be acceptable to them, so that it would be possible for either Government by the acceptance of them now or at any time during the course of the war to bring hostilities to a close. We believe that such a declaration would be in harmony with the principles agreed to at the recent Peace Conference at the Hague; that it would be approved by the people of our own and every other civilized land, and that, in addition to probably bringing a speedy end to the present war, it would form a precedent that might save this and other countries from the disaster of war in the future.

Copies of the resolution have been sent to the leading statesmen of all parties.

CITY BRANCH PAMPHLETS.

No. 1.—The Independent Labour Party: What it is, and where it stands.

No. 2.—Labour Laws for Women: Their reason and their results (3rd Edition).

No. 3.—Imperialism: Its meaning and its tendency.

No. 4.—Commercialism and Child Labour: An indictment and some remedies.

Crammed with facts; useful for propaganda; invaluable to students.

PRICE, ONE PENNY EACH.

I.L.P. Office, 53, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

MONTHLY REPORT FROM HEAD OFFICE.

DECEMBER, 1900.

80 Branches paid Fees in December.
44 " sent reports without fees.
9 " pay fees quarterly.
63 " sent neither fees nor reports.

The income of the Head Office during December was:—

Affiliation Fees	...	...	£20	12	0
Election Fund	...	...	38	3	10
Sales	...	...	10	7	11
National Branch	...	...	0	5	0
Sundries	...	...	1	0	2½
			£70	8	11½

CONSTITUTION.—Copies of the Constitution of the Party may be obtained from Head Office, price 6d. per dozen, post free. Pence Cards are supplied at the same price. Samples on application.

NATIONAL BRANCH.—The National Branch of the I.L.P. is open to Socialists who endorse the objects and methods of the Party, but who are unable, through geographical or other difficulties, to join the nearest Branch. Members of the National Branch receive copies of all the official publications of the Party. Subscriptions for the year 1900 are now due, and should be sent to the Head Office. The amount of subscription is left to the discretion of the member.

The Branch Report Sheet for January must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

NEW BRANCHES.

AYRSHIRE CENTRAL.—Secretary, Miss Maggie Allan, 20, Weaver Street, Ayr.

DOWLAIS.—Secretary, Morgan Morgans, Upper Row, Penywern, Dowlais.

OLDHAM CENTRAL.—Secretary, T. H. Williamson, Labour Club, Bridge Street, Oldham.

STEWARTON.—Secretary, John Wilson, 16, Dean Street, Stewarton.

WEDNESBURY.—Secretary, G. Whitehead, 38, Addison Street, Wednesbury.

NEW SECRETARIES.

BRIGHOUSE.—D. Hardaker, Church Gates, Brighouse.

BRADFORD.—C. A. Glyde, 166, Rochester Street, Bradford Moor, Bradford.

BURY.—J. A. Pilling, Bury I.L.P., Cross Street, Clerke Street, Bury.

CLAPHAM.—A. Strugnell, Morris Hall, North Street, Clapham.

GILLINGHAM.—J. A. Moore, 44, Westcourt Street, Old Brompton, Kent.

INVERNESS.—J. Leonard, 4, Southside Road, Inverness.

Branch Fees and Reports.

The following Branches paid Fees in December:—

Arbroath 2s. 6d., Ayr 1s. 5d., Barnsley 2s., Bedlinog 5s., Birmingham W. 6s., Blackburn 6s. 3d., Bootle 2s. 1d., Bordesley 5s., Brechin 2s. 6d., Bromley 1s. 7d., Carnoustie 7d., Cheltenham 1s. Clapham 3s. 6d., Cleckheaton 9s., Clydebank 5s., College 2s. 6d., Consett 2s. 6d., Cowdenbeath 1s. 2d., Darlington 2s. 6d., Derby 10s., Dudley 4s. 2d., East Ham 1s. 4d., Edinburgh 15s., Farnworth, Nov. 4s. 2d., Dec. 5s.; Farsley 3s. 6d., Fulham 6s. 7d., Gillingham 1s., Gloucestershire S. 2s. 6d., Govan 5s., Hexham 6d., Holbeck 2s. 4d., Hollinwood 12s., Hull 6s. 2d., Hutchesontown 10s., Inverness 3s. 4d., Keighley 1s., Kensington N. 1s. 6d., Kilmarnock 7s. 6d., Kingswood 1s. 6d., Leicester 15s., Leith 2s. 7d., Lesmahagow 1s., Littleborough 2s. 6d., Liverpool 15s., London City 4s. 2d., Long Eaton 10s. 6d., Middleton 1s., Middlesbrough 3s. 4d., Milnsbridge paid, Motherwell 1s. 8d., New Marske 1s. 6d., Newport 4s. 4d., Oakengates paid, Openshaw 1s. 7s. 6d., Oldham C. 16s. 8d., Oldham S.S. 2s., Paisley 8s. 4d., Pendlebury 4s. 6d., Penydarren 5s., Portsmouth 5s., Preston 5s., Rishton 1s., Rotherham 5s., Rothwell 3s., Shildon 1s. 10d., South Shields 2s. 6d., Sowerby 6s. 4d., Stockton 4s. 2d., Sutton-in-Ashfield 7d., Tottenham 1s. 6d.,

Walsall 10d., Warrington 3s. 6d., Wednesbury 1s. 2d., West Ham N. 2s. 6d., West Ham S. 15s., Wolverhampton 5s., Woolwich 3s., Workington 10s., Yeaton 3s. 4d., Ystalyfera 1s. (80).

The following Branches pay Fees Quarterly:—

Finsbury, Hawick, Lye, Mossley, Musselburgh, Nelson, Rutherglen, Townhill, Werneth. (9)

The following Branches sent Reports without Fees:—

Ashton-under-Lyne, Attercliffe, Ayrshire Central, Barrow, Bermondsey, Bolton, Bradford, Brighouse, Bury, Chester, Chesterfield, Crewe, Crook, Dowlais, Dundee, Eccles, Felling, Gateshead, Glasgow City, Glossop, Hackney, Halifax, Hartlepool, Horwich, Huddersfield, Lancaster, Langley Mill, Leeds Central, Manchester, Merthyr Vale, Mexborough, Newcastle, Pudsey, Rochdale, St. Pancras, Salford W., Stewarton, Stockport, Sunderland, Thornaby, Tyldesley, Vale of Leven, West Bromwich, York. (44)

The following Branches sent neither Reports nor Fees:—

Abertillery, Annfield Plain, Armley, Ashford, Aston, Bath, Berkeley, Birkenhead, Birmingham C., Bridgeton, Burslem, Cam-lachie, Cardiff, Chalford, Cirencester, Colne Valley, Cowling, Crosshills, Darwen, Doncaster, Dumfries, Earlestown, Eiland, Failsworth, Gloucester, Grantham, Greenwich, Halton, Heckmond-wike, E. Hunslet, Hyde, Islington, Kettering, Kurriemuir, Leeds North, Limehouse, Longwood, Macclesfield, Maescymmer, Mansfield, Montrose, Normanton, Norwich, Nottingham, Oakworth, Ossett, Otley, Partick, Peckham, Ripley, St. Helens S.S., St. Rollox, Southampton, Spen Colliery, Spen Valley S.S., Spenny-moor, Stalybridge, Stroud, Thornhill Lees, Tradeston, Walkden, Wishaw, Yarmouth. (63)

OTHER CASH RECEIVED IN DECEMBER.

Sales.—Liverpool 10s., Middlesbrough 11d., Wolverhampton 1s., Gloucestershire S. 10s. 6d., Brechin 9d., Ayr 2s. 8d., Leeds C. 1s. 8d., London City 6s. 2d., Kingswood 1s. 9d., Workington 2s. 8d., Long Eaton 2s. 7½d., Blackburn 19s., Consett 10½d., West Ham S. 10½d., Paisley 3s. 9d., Arbroath 1s. 8d., Birmingham W. 4s. 6d., Wednesbury 1s. 4d., Darlington 1s. 3½d., Hull 1s. 9d., South Shields 1s. 10½d., Bromley 11d., Gillingham 10½d., Stockton 2s. 4d., Rotherham 10s., Mr. F. Rogers 1s. 10s., Birmingham 10½d., Bootle 1s. 11d., Sowerby 5s. 10d., Motherwell 10½d., Cash Sales 12s. 10s. 11d. Total £10 7s. 11d.

National Branch.—Mrs. Stanbury, 5s.

Sundries.—F. Merry 1s., P. H. 2½d. Total 1s. 2½d.

Election Fund.—E. Hindmarsh, collected, 14s. 6d.; M. Maccabe, 11d.; Warrington I.L.P., 16s.; per Arthur Danbrook, 4s. 6d.; A. W. Camamile, collected, 12s. 6d.; Edinburgh I.L.P., 14 os. 1d.; C. Mosses, collected, 7s.; S. Judson, collected, 5s.; N. Adshead, collected, 6s.; G. Parr, collected, 3s.; J. W. Morrissey, Liverpool, collected, 6s.; George New, collected, 5s.; A. Arkell, 2s. 6d.; A. Danbrook, Crook, collected, 2s. 6d.; collected by Vale of Leven Branch of I.L.P.:—Duncan Burdon (1st) 1s. 15s. 6d., David Wallace 5s., Robert Miller 8s. 6d., John Munro 7s., John Buchanan 7s., Hugh Miller 2s., John Cross 2s., Hugh Paton, 1s., James M'Innes 1s., Peter Burdon 11s.; collected by Paisley I.L.P.:—R. Malcolm and J. Young 1s. 18s., Robina Cochran 1s. 10s., Daniel Russell, 13s. 7d., E. Begg, 4s., Hugh Smith 4s. 6d., D. Davidson 5s., John Wilson 10s. 6d., Wm. Turner 10s. 6d., Harry Baird 1s. 2s. 9d.; collected at Jail Square Meeting, 10s. 10d.; collected at Shaw Maxwell's meeting, 11s.; Wilson Brook, Meltham, collected, 7s. 6d.; J. Wilson, Stewarton, collected, 5s. 6d.; Kilmarnock I.L.P., 17s. 6d.; G. Henderson, Sunderland, collected, 10s.; F. Tait, Sunderland, collected, 5s.; G. Heyworth, Workington, collected, 2s. 6d.; C. Hazlewood, Workington, collected, 4s.; Derby I.L.P., collected, 3s. 8d.; H. Allan, Townhill, collected, 11s. 6d.; Middlesbrough I.L.P., 1s. 16s.; W. Faichnie, Falkirk, collected, 1s. 5s.; Stockton I.L.P., 1s. 10s.; J. Henderson, Hyde, 1s.; W. H. Peck, Hyde, collected, 6s.; Hermann Pike, Hyde, collected, 8s. 6d.; Adam Clarke, Hyde, collected, 5s. 1d.; Milnsbridge Labour Club, 1s.; Inverness I.L.P., 9s.; D. McCall, College, collected, 17s.; D. Miller, College, collected, 4s.; G. Miller, College, collected, 6s. 9d.; W. Gibson, College, collected, 8s.; J. Kington and W. Warden, College, 1s. 4s.; C. E. Bellin, College, collected, 1s. 9s.; D. Rutherford, College, 1s.; Carlisle Socialist Society, 2s. 1d.; Glossop I.L.P., 10s. 3d.

JOHN PENNY, Gen. Sec.

I.L.P. NEWS.

THE MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

No. 47. VOL. IV.

FEBRUARY, 1901.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

THE new century has begun energetically enough. Like the new broom, or promoted official, it is evidently bent on making a clean sweep of some description or other. It has seized the first opportunity to terminate the long reign of Queen Victoria and replace it by that of King Edward VII. of England—a very bold start, indeed. If only the merit equals the ambition of its performance, history may soon have a busy time of it.

* * *

An excess of public effusion over the death of the late aged Queen was, we suppose, a thing to be expected, and we must not regard the display of public mourning either as a very deep or as altogether a hypocritical manifestation of sorrow. National sentiment is quite a different emotion from personal sentiment, and it is afforded but few opportunities of expression. An occasion such as the present one, which provides it with a universal means of out-pouring, is a rare and almost luxurious occurrence. Even republicans will freely concede the many personal virtues of the late sovereign, and but few of them would be anxious to dissociate themselves from any appropriate public demonstration of respect towards her as head of the State. The extravagant personal eulogy and professions of personal bereavement, however, which numerous public speakers and newspapers have indulged in, must be regarded, not only as a fulsome affectation, but as a wanton violation of public decorum and national self-respect.

* * *

How far the following order, issued by the North Eastern Railway Company and placarded all over its system, proved provocative of loyalty or blasphemy, we can only surmise:—

"At the hour appointed for the funeral at Windsor, viz., 2-30, a universal cessation of all movement throughout the Company's system for a period of ten minutes is ordered by the directors. Trains are to be brought to a standstill and to remain motionless, and every servant of the Company who is obliged by the necessities of the public service to be on duty, is to stand quietly and reverentially in his place for that period."

* * *

Mark Twain is reported to have said, when introducing Mr. Winston Churchill recently to a public meeting, that America and Britain had been brothers in everything but crime, now they were brothers in crime also. Let us hope that before long they will be also brothers in contrition. It is now some four years since America undertook, at the bidding of the American imperialist, the task of emancipating the Filipinos, and the history of their exploit reads strangely like a parody of our own South African campaign. The parody will probably be even more exact and complete in the course of the next few months. The Filipinos, it appears, are as far away as ever from being subdued by America. One general after another has failed and has been re-

called, and the country is in a state of "settled disorder." Only the principal towns are in possession of the Americans, who seem to have virtually abandoned all hope of subjugating the "insurgents." The Filipinos are masters of the country districts and are able to do what they like. The United States Government is apparently heartily sick of the war, and would be only too glad to give the Filipinos some form of self-government "if it could be done without lowering American prestige." Already the latter phrase is beginning to crop up in the British press with respect to affairs in South Africa.

* * *

Thus exclaims a certain Mr. H. Croft Hiller in the columns of the *Fleetwood Chronicle*:—

When will there be a party which believes in its professed principles; a religious and moral party; a party that will cure the purulent ulcers at present rotting this nation? Tory, Liberal, Socialist parties are to me at present pantomimes, of which the Liberal is the most dolorous. This once great party is now but a conglomeration of ethereal aspirations and atomic deeds. The Tory party has an honest brute ideal which I will term carnivorousness. The Socialist party has a dishonest brute ideal which I will call filchism. . . . The Tory party makes me smile, as does a blossom-faced toper spouting tap-room philosophy. The Socialist party makes me growl, as does the benevolent fob-investigator who has just bestowed my chronometer on a needy pal. The Liberal party makes me yawn and groan as does a bishop of the Establishment or a Non-Con. war minister expounding the excellences of the Christian ideal.

* * *

Unhappy Mr. Hiller! who can find no satisfaction whatever in the politics of either the Tory, Liberal, or Socialist parties. Evidently he is a very exacting reformer. But perhaps we should not regard Mr. Hiller as unhappy. Ancient Diogenes derived, we are told, infinite enjoyment from contemplating the folly and wickedness of mankind. There have been many of like digestion since his day. It may happen that Mr. Hiller is also somewhere jollily ensconced in a tub, and would be much "put out" were he suddenly to discover that there was actually some virtue to be found in one or other parties of the State. At any rate, we shall agree that Mr. Hiller is a man of versatile ability; for not many men, we should think, are endowed with such faculty as to be able to sit down and "smile," and "growl," and "yawn and groan" in successive respirations.

* * *

As we write, we recall having seen the name, "H. Croft Hiller" in the columns of the agnostic press, and we have remembered ourselves of a book on ourselves entitled, *Ideal Justice*, by H. Croft Hiller. We hope we are wrong in surmising that the writer in the *Fleetwood Chronicle* is one and the same person. The supposition is, however, a plausible one. In *Ideal Justice* the author attacks in most virile fashion the existing state of society

and current forms of belief. He postulates, too, a vague ideal which certainly seems to approximate to Socialism. He even justifies Socialism by name; but the Socialism has the hammer marks of the author's own making upon it. It is of his own special creation, and he does not intend that it shall be mistaken for Socialism of the common pattern. There is a fatality in that kind of thing. Men who fancy that the world should be fashioned exactly according to their plan are sure to be disappointed in their expectations. They rarely forgive their fellows for their folly and wickedness in having a will and method of their own; and they usually end up by becoming egregious egoists and reactionaries. The Socialist platform has furnished us with its own quota of examples of this kind.

* * *

We are glad to be able to chronicle the victory of the Buxton limestone workers, whose dispute with their employers we commented upon in our last issue. It will be remembered that the employers had insisted for years upon the men signing an "agreement" each New Year's day pledging the workmen not to leave their employment for twelve months, while the masters were left free to dismiss any of the workmen without notice for any breach of rules. On refusing to re-engage on these conditions this year the men were locked out. The lock-out was of short duration. In the course of a few days the masters, it appears, consented to confer with the workmen's representatives, and as a result agreed to substitute a month's notice on either side for the old, one-sided twelve months' contract. Much credit is due to the Gas Workers and General Labourers Union, and to J. R. Clynes, the organiser, for their management of the interests of the workmen in the lock-out. About 150 additional men have now joined the Union, which is close upon 1,000 strong in the district.

The results of the School Board elections during January have proved more favourable to the I.L.P. than those of the previous month. Three seats have been gained, viz., at Blackburn, at Huddersfield, and at Newcastle; while at Ashton-under-Lyne, Hirst, I.L.P., has not only retained his seat, but topped the poll.

General French's sister, who is an active Socialist, has promised to address the William Morris Labour Church at an early date.

The Canning Town Socialist Sunday School has just held its fourth annual "At Home." The gathering took place at Mansfield Hall, and about 170 assembled together, with 40 girls from the West Ham Workhouse Schools. An excellent little dialogue was given by the workhouse children.

The Birmingham Central I.L.P. has held its first annual meeting. The Branch report showed an increase of membership, and a balance on hand. Frank Spires was re-elected Chairman, and William Shorkey, Secretary.

A hearty "Good-bye" was given by the Manningham I.L.P. to comrade Martindale, of the 8th Hussars, who, after being home on furlough, has been ordered to report himself for medical examination with a view to his returning to the front.

Rotherham Branch resolved to begin the new century without debt, and by means of a sale of work in Christmas week, accomplished its purpose. The Branch presented Leonard Hawcroft with a handsome tea service, in token of its appreciation of his successful services as Secretary during the past three years. The Branch is in fine trim.

Attercliffe (Sheffield) I.L.P. has been keeping Socialism well before the public this winter. Meetings have been held in the Vestry Hall almost every Sunday. Among the recent lecturers have been Enid Stacey, Bruce Glasier, Mrs. Bruce Glasier, Joe Chatterton, and Raymond Unwin. The meetings have been well attended.

Is Democracy Waning in Britain?

The *Contemporary Review* for December contained an article on "The Social Future of England," by William Clarke, the well-known Fabian writer. His views, although conflicting with those commonly entertained by Socialists and Democrats generally, are thoughtfully stated, and should not be summarily dismissed.

According to Mr. Clarke, complete democracy is not the goal towards which civilisation in England is at present tending. Industrialism, which makes towards democracy, is, he says, already waning, and is destined to play an unimportant part in the future relatively to that of America, Germany, or even China. Democracy could only be further realised by the people insisting upon it, but the mass of the people, he thinks, do not strongly favour the democratic ideal. He cites the waning influence of the House of Commons, the increasing power of the Cabinet and permanent officials, as indication of the drift of political tendencies in England.

Mr. Clarke attributes this anti-democratic tendency partly to the results of widening the Empire. "A world-wide Empire cannot be 'run' by a popular debating club." He also ascribes it to the lack of any real conviction in favour of social equality among the bulk of the English people.

Admitting, as we readily do, that there is much truth in many of Mr. Clarke's observations, we do not think he takes a wide enough or deep enough view of the drift of things. He does not allow sufficiently for the probability of a reaction against imperialism, not only in sentiment and in the fact of its cost and inutility, but in the virtual secession of the more important colonies. Nor does he, we think, take sufficiently into account the democratising influence of the rapid growth and economic magnitude of our municipal and collectivist undertakings. He also, in our opinion, greatly underestimates the increase of the sentiment of equality among the thinking, and therefore controlling, portion of the democracy, due not only to the active propagation of Socialism, but to the influence of the socialist and democratic spirit in modern literature and art. His prediction that England will become more and more a happy hunting-ground for the English-speaking rich, and that along with this there will be an enormous increase of the servant class, who will live by ministering to the wants of the well-to-do, can only be fulfilled if our nation retains its economic domination over the world, and if public sentiment and internal legislation in Britain continues tolerant towards the vested interests and delectations of the moneyed class. Both these suppositions are not only doubtful, but are challenged by legislative tendencies and socialising processes, the growth of which is not likely to be arrested.

F. W. POTTER AND THE OLDHAM SCHOOL BOARD,

A signal mark of respect has been shown by the Oldham School Board to F. W. Potter, the recently defeated I.L.P. member of the Board. The occasion was the opening of the Hathershaw School extension, and in token of the great interest Mr. Potter had shown in promoting the scheme, and of the esteem in which his services to education are held by the Board, he was invited to perform the inauguration ceremony. Mr. Potter, who had sat on the Board for six years, lost his seat at the recent election through an unfortunate split in the Socialist ranks. His defeat is much regretted in the town, and it is generally expected that he will be re-elected or co-opted at the first opportunity.

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., in the North.

An important indication of the increasing popularity of I.L.P. principles in the North of Scotland has been afforded by the series of meetings which J. Keir Hardie, M.P., addressed during the mid-week of January. The meetings were held in Dundee, Inverness, Aberdeen, and Brechin. In each of these towns an enthusiastic welcome was accorded the I.L.P. member by large audiences.

A feature of the meetings was the large accession of prominent Trade Unionists to the public platform of the I.L.P. In every respect the meetings displayed a notable and favourable change of public opinion towards Socialist politics, a circumstance that is the more significant in view of the pronounced attitude which Mr. Hardie and the Party as a whole have taken against the South African War.

At Aberdeen, Mr. D. V. Pirie, M.P., against whom it will be remembered Tom Mann polled 2,479 votes in 1896, took part in the proceedings. Mr. Pirie explained that it was his admiration for men of Mr. Hardie's stamp that induced him to appear on the platform that night. Whether the formidable vote obtained by the I.L.P. against him in 1896 was in any way the means of opening Mr. Pirie's mind to the importance and justice of Labour demands, we can only surmise. Such things have not infrequently happened in political history. There can be no doubt, however, but the South African War has greatly influenced Mr. Pirie's attitude. Mr. Pirie has himself been to the front in the capacity of an officer, and has returned from the war deeply impressed with the injustice of the Government policy in South Africa. He was amongst the few Liberal Members of Parliament who voted against his own party and Government on the war question during the recent session of Parliament.

At Inverness, the Rev. Charles McEachern, of the Gaelic Parish Church, took occasion when presiding at the meeting held in that town not only to speak against the war, but to express his strongest sympathy with the principles of the I.L.P. Altogether the Party has reason to be gratified with the testimony which these meetings have afforded of the growing strength of the I.L.P. movement in the North of Scotland.

Replies to Correspondents.

Yours fraternally.—Yes, we are of set purpose restoring the prefix "Mr." before the surnames of Socialists, where convenient in these columns. The term "comrade," which, in the earlier days of the movement, was expressive of a close and deeply interdependent band of associates, has now, with the wide growth and impersonal relations of the movement, become an affectation. All the formalism and indiscriminateness attached to the use of the word "Mr." has become doubly objectionable in the now conventional use of the word "comrade." After all, "Mr." is a neutral and merely courteous particle; and we see no reason why Socialists should affect any other prefix. "Comrade" should be reserved as a special and appropriate term of distinction or esteem.

R. S. K.—For Socialists, Henry George's *Social Problems* is in many respects a much more instructive book than his *Progress and Poverty*. The argument of the latter, so far as it is sound, has been absorbed into all recent literature and speeches on Land Reform. In *Social Problems* the author discusses questions of democracy, government, and economic evolution with rare insight; and his observations are still fresh and extremely interesting.

Signs of Progress.

The National Government is constantly being asked to undertake more important duties, and it will be necessary for reformers to press for an efficient civil service and the cheapening and simplifying of legal procedure to fit the central organs for their extending duties. The Birmingham Factory Inspector, Mr. Knyvett, said lately at a public meeting, "our work is being greatly extended; when I was first appointed we had very little to do." The officials of the Industrial Law Committee and of the Women's Trade Union League are useful voluntary organisations intended to strengthen the hands of inspectors. Scotch reformers are pleading for the nationalisation of banks. The *Cycle Tourist Club Gazette* has lately contained some excellent articles in favour of the creation of a national office to supervise all questions connected with roads. There is a growing feeling in the country in favour of legislation *re* adulterated beer. The sanitary conference recently supported the proposal that a minister of public health should be appointed, with cabinet rank. In connection with all these matters it is urgently desirable that socialist public opinion should become more powerful, otherwise the central offices will be run by gentlemen who wish to discourage civic enterprise and to do as little as possible themselves. It was democratic feeling, and not imperial wisdom, which created the Pacific Railway in Canada, and state railways, &c., in Australia.

Matters Municipal.—The "Municipal Journal" has been describing at length the arrangements for local government in German towns, taking Düsseldorf as an instance. The story of Düsseldorf will encourage English reformers, who wish to see education, telephones, hospitals, pawn shops, slaughter houses, docks, &c., in the hands of committees of one central council. We are copying various municipal reforms from foreigners. The London County Council is asking architects to send in their plans for buildings in its new streets, as has long been done, *e.g.*, in Nuremberg and Paris. The Handsworth tramway has copied the system in vogue in Pesth and Berlin, of having one penny ticket for the whole or any part of the journey, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. London reformers point out that German towns have begun to tax urban land values, and are in the habit of sending the *bonâ-fide* tramps to labour colonies. There is a growing desire that cities should co-operate in the providing of coal, water, gas, and tramways. Londoners want a dock trust. Seaside towns desire to run their own piers, aquariums, and football fields. Municipal experts are generally in favour of lowering the price and improving the quality of municipal services, rather than helping landlords by lowering rates. Hyde is imitating the example set by St. Helens in sterilising milk. Our socialists on the Manchester Council are asking that when the city buys land for a park, &c., it shall buy the land surrounding the park as well, and thus get the increased values which its own action will create. The Bradford socialist councillors stick solidly to the crusade against the favour shown to wool-combing manufacturers in drainage and water supply.

Trade Unions.—The I.L.P. policy of leavening the trade unions with socialist yeast is, in ordinary times, a policy of slow and sure. If, a few years hence, English traders find themselves shut out of the Chinese markets, if English investors get Indians and Japanese producers to undersell the British working-man, and if the cessation of war leads to a crisis and over-production, then the fruits of our policy will be made speedily manifest, class feeling will suddenly express itself, and the rulers be forced into adopting socialist items to stave off danger of riot, burglary, and arson. But, in the meanwhile, we must be satisfied with the day of small things. In London, the relief of the consumer from the tipping system will have to be got by trade unionism. In Birmingham, an association will shortly be formed of "barmaids, waitresses, and other female assistants employed in the licensed victualling and other kindred trades." The Plasterers' Union in London has ordered its younger members to attend technical classes. Uphill work is being done by the Shop Assistants' Union, which has to contend with a dreadful weight of individualist tradition and petty snobbery. Shop assistants, at present, cannot demand a reference, cannot travel in workmen's trains, cannot sue by summary jurisdiction, generally are without a vote, must "live in" under a feudal patriarchy like domestic servants, are bribed by secret commissions, and often worked overtime without extra payment. Like teachers and curates, they will find it absolutely necessary to combine, and to seek Parliamentary assistance to nail down permanent reforms for their class.

J.A.F.

What the I.L.P. is Doing.

In view of J. Keir Hardie's return to Parliament, the Council of the party has resolved to form an "I.L.P. Payment of Members' Fund." The Council feels that it is of great importance to the purity and freedom of democratic election that the ability or willingness of members to incur heavy outlay should not be made a condition of their offering themselves for election. When formerly in Parliament, Keir Hardie met his expenses by journalism and lecturing. The strain of the constant effort to discharge his public duties and meet the expenses of his position was very great, and his defeat at West Ham came to him as a welcome personal relief. Russell Smart has placed his services at the disposal of the Council as Hon. Secretary of the new fund, and has already obtained a considerable portion of the £150 which is the amount of the annual guarantee provisionally fixed upon.

We regret to have to record the death of Thomas Place, of York, a most estimable comrade, who was a founder alike of the Fabian Society and I.L.P. in that city.

Middlesborough is among the branches that have a good balance in hand.

S. D. Shallard is engaged in a month's lecturing tour for the Fabian Society in the south of Ireland. He has had specially successful gatherings at Cork, and is being shadowed by the police.

The Conference of the United Labour Committee has re-elected J. R. Macdonald as its Secretary for the ensuing year. It is generally agreed that to his energy is largely due the success of the new organisation.

Expressions of sympathy from all parts of the movement have been extended to John Edwards, of Liverpool, in his bereavement in the loss of his wife.

The Chairman of the Party has, on the occasion of his lecturing visits, held conferences with the members of the following branches during the month: Attercliffe, Rotherham, Shrewsbury, Stockton, and Middlesborough.

Since the General Election there has been a great addition to the business transacted at the head office of the I.L.P.—a sign of the increased activity of the movement.

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Councillor Parker, have been re-appointed by the National Council to represent the I.L.P. on the United Labour Committee.

A record audience assembled in the Albion Hall, Glasgow, on Sunday, 3rd inst., when Robert Blatchford presided at Mrs. Bruce Glasier's lecture on "The Hope of the Twentieth Century." The tickets were threepence each, and several hundred people were unable to gain admission.

Stockton I.L.P. postponed its Sale of Work from Saturday, 2nd, to Saturday, 9th inst., in consequence of the Queen's obsequies. The three public meetings, however, arranged for Sunday, 3rd, were held, and Margaret McMillan and Bruce Glasier lectured to successful gatherings.

The General Secretary's weekly notes from the head office to the *Labour Leader*, *Clarion*, and other Socialist papers, are proving of much interest alike to the members of the party and to the unattached.

Joseph Burgess has intimated his intention of retiring from the National Council at the Annual Conference. He will, however, continue active in the I.L.P. movement, which in a great measure owed its inception in 1892 to his initiative in the columns of the *Workmen's Times*.

Fred Brocklehurst is gaining a protean reputation. Once again he has inflicted a radical change upon his personal appearance. A few months ago he was bearded like a pard, now he is as barefaced as a barrister—and a barrister he is "dinning" to be.

Bruce Glasier lectured on January 23rd at Shrewsbury, under the auspices of the local Socialist Society, which has recently affiliated with the I.L.P., the Rev. Mr. Street, Unitarian Minister, presiding. After the meeting, Bruce Glasier held a conference with the members of the Branch.

Robert Blatchford (Nunquam) has been adding to his fellowship duties by presiding at I.L.P. meetings, much to the delight and advantage of the local branches.

Independent Labour Party.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

All inquiries with respect to the I.L.P. should be addressed to the above office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming branches are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

I.L.P. PUBLICATIONS.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Large Poster 65in. by 45in. Deals with the aims and position of the Party. Clearly printed, and easily read. Price, 3s. per doz.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Small Poster. Suitable for window display, size 17½in. by 22½in. Price, 9d. per doz.

Members' Pence Cards.—4d. per doz., post free.

Rules.—To insert in Pence Cards (with rubber bands), 4d. per doz.

I.L.P. News.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

Subscription Rates: One year, 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month, 1½d. Post free. For advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News," Fleet Street, E.C.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, E.C.

No. 47.

FEBRUARY, 1901.

The Annual Conference.

With the present year and forthcoming session of parliament the Independent Labour Party enters upon a new stage of activity and responsibility. It is of great importance, therefore, that the Annual Conference of the Party, which is to be held on Easter Monday and Tuesday at Leicester, should be a large and authoritative one. Every member of the Party is, therefore, urged to press upon, and to help financially, his branch to send its full number of delegates to the Conference.

J. BRUCE GLASIER, CHAIRMAN.

The Late Queen.

Queen Victoria has not long survived the outgoing of the Nineteenth Century. The late century itself, as if out of regard for her reputation and its own, seemed to beckon her away. It would have been a confusing thing—confusing to history and her own fame—had her reign extended far into the years of the Twentieth Century. It was fit and proper that the Queen should depart with the century of her sixty years sovereignty.

Nevertheless, the death of Queen Victoria is an ominous event; and we are not among those who affect a cheery indifference to its consequences. Her death, like her life, is not an ordinary occurrence. It makes a big mark in history. It is the death, not only of a somewhat remarkable woman—that were a common enough and historically unimportant incident, maybe—but the death of a Queen. The death, too, of a great Queen: great in the immensity of her empire, and in the restraint and quietness of her rule. We only deceive ourselves if we fail to recognise that in the persons of rulers—whether they be kings or captains, presidents or cabinet ministers—there exists a power for good or evil which is measurable, not only by the capacity of rulers themselves, but by the magnitude of the people over whom their rule extends. Nor is this power the product of

mere superstition or fear on the part of their subjects; it is a substance or quality of sovereignty that grows out of the organic life of the State.

In the case of Queen Victoria we can, without adopting the foolish strain of adulation that her death has worked in the press, say of her that in the main her personal influence on the throne was of a wholesome if not a superlatively meritorious kind. The circumstance that Republican agitation subsided under her reign is no unimportant testimony to the mildness of her monarchical rule. Perhaps, however, the chief merit of her tenure of the throne is the influence which it has exerted in promoting the intellectual enfranchisement, and in elevating the public status of woman. The fact that the sovereign of the greatest, most prosperous, and most democratic empire in the world should have been for sixty years a woman who was reputed to be a model of motherhood and domestic virtue, as well as a wise and liberal administrator of the supreme functions of the State, has had a far and deep reaching effect in forwarding the social emancipation of women in our own and many other lands.

The New King.

The accession of the Prince of Wales to the throne may prove a turning point in our national history. The personality of the sovereign still remains the biggest single political factor in the British nation. Stripped as the royal prerogative has been of its power by Parliaments and Cabinets, there still exists in the Crown a latent autocracy that is capable of quick and formidable revival. The personal attitude of the King towards neighbouring sovereigns can still make or unmake the occasions of war; and the weight of his wishes and rewards thrown into the political scales can materially affect the legislative balance of freedom and reform.

A wide spread impression prevails that the new monarch will prove a good natured, easy going, and on the whole rather non-political sovereign. This is, we venture to think, a mistaken notion of the King. It is derived from public reports of the character of the King as the Prince of Wales. But the characters of heirs apparent are notoriously shifty foundations upon which to build hypotheses of the comportment of these princes when endowed with the mighty authority of kings. As princes they possess no sovereign functions whatever, and they usually devote themselves to the self-indulgences of their social position. As kings, the ambition, however sluggish, of their nature must in a great measure take a political and administrative form. Already, although but a few days seated on the throne, there are indications that Edward VII. will display himself as a much more assertive monarch than his career as a prince might have augured. It should be remembered that the King is now an elderly man, and that he has already outgrown the zest for the gaieties and allurements of society, which, had he reached the throne in earlier years, might have considerably diverted his attention from State affairs and blunted his political ambition. Underneath the urbanity of the King there runs, as in all his line, a deep vein of prejudice and self-will. In the late Queen this disposition, partly because she was a woman and widow living in retirement, did not publicly

manifest itself. The new King is, however, no anchorite; and if, as is very likely, he elects to participate actively in the affairs of the State, his personality will become a power to be seriously reckoned with. The circumstance, too, that the King's accession has taken place during a war in which our military prestige has been seriously diminished, will no doubt be regarded as affording a favourable opportunity for increasing the military importance of the Crown.

Republicanism.

"Republicanism is dead in England!" exclaims the enthusiastic royalist in the street and press. "The Queen killed it with kindness," he perhaps adds, not weighing the meaning of his words. He, however, greatly deceives himself. Republicanism is not dead in Britain: it is not, we hope, even fallen composedly asleep. It has ceased to obtrude itself on platforms and in the press because it has been busy in the administration of affairs. For, in truth, the late Queen's popularity has been largely due to her non-intervention in the critical issues of government; her success as a queen has been complementary to her self-repression as a monarch.

The disappearance, therefore, of republican propaganda during the past thirty or forty years must not be taken as a sign of the decay of republican sentiment in the country. As a matter of fact republican agitation has disappeared from view only because the Queen herself disappeared from view. It could quite as plausibly be declared that monarchicalism had died out during the late reign as that republicanism had died out. But even monarchicalism is not dead, as we shall perhaps only too clearly perceive before long.

No doubt the crude republicanism of earlier days, that saw in the mere deposition of kings the emancipation of man, has perished with many other futile political expectations. The people now begin to perceive that it is not the form but the fact of government that is of supreme importance. They have wisely realised that it is possible to have almost a maximum of republicanism under monarchy, and a minimum under a presidency. For while in principle monarchy is the antithesis of democracy, in practice it may prove no more inimical to democracy than any other form of personal or class monopoly of political power.

But monarchy is, nevertheless, for ever a grave and threatening power in the State. It can immediately, subtly, and with immense prestige, assert itself and overawe the people. It behoves, therefore, every Socialist to be ranked against every manifestation of its activity or aggression. We trust that throughout the land an alert and stern attitude will be assumed by trades unionists and socialists towards any attempt to rehabilitate the monarchy either with political or military power. It is stated that a proposal will be submitted to Parliament to increase the emoluments of the sovereign. This proposal will be loudly approved by the imperialist press, and will be commended with appeals to the patriotism and self-respect of the nation. Against that proposal, and every other of its kind, we hope a resolute stand will be made by every democrat in the land.

Socialists should be preparing for the forthcoming County Council Elections. It is particularly desirable that Socialists should be elected on those bodies. Our foreign trade will gradually lessen in the face of American and German competition, and our manufacturers will clamour for protection, monopoly, and imperial sweating. We shall therefore need rural Socialists to speak for national husbandry and co-operative agriculture and distribution as sounder methods of social help.

The Treasurer of the Fund for the new I.L.P. Propaganda Scheme has presented a report to National Council, showing that a considerable sum has already been obtained in contributions and guarantees. An extensive list of probable contributors is being prepared, and permanent arrangements are being made for organising the fund in every district. The new Propaganda campaign will not be inaugurated until £500 is in the treasurer's hands.

Labour Representation Conference.

The First Annual Labour Representation Conference was held in the Co-operative Hall, Downing Street, Manchester. About eighty delegates were present representing 465,000 organised workers. Mr. John Hodge of the Steelsmelters' Union was voted to the chair.

The Committee's Report showed that 41 Trade Unions (membership, 353,070), three Socialist Organisations (22,861), and seven Trades Councils (91,000), had affiliated.

Fifteen Parliamentary Candidatures, at the General Election in October, 1900, were endorsed by the Committee. Seats were won at Merthyr and Derby by J. Keir Hardie and Richard Bell respectively. Altogether the Labour Candidates polled 62,698 votes, against 114,302 recorded for their opponents. Considering that the election was forced on the country at a few days notice, and that it was fought on a worn-out register, these results were regarded as encouraging.

The Financial Statement showed that the income of the Committee during the past year had been £243 13s. 2d., and the expenditure £186 16s. 8d. The chief items of expenditure were £33, cost of printing 222,000 manifestoes; £18 3s. 3d., printing Report of London Conference; £84 16s. 3d., cost of eight Committee Meetings; and £12 18s., expenses of Deputations.

The following resolutions were carried with practical unanimity:—

"Trades Councils shall be entitled to affiliate and send one representative to the Conference on paying £1 per year, and may send one additional delegate for each 10s. paid. Trades Council delegates will be entitled to elect one representative from their number to serve on the Executive."

Moved by the Executive Committee.

"That this Conference instruct the Committee to issue at the earliest possible date a statement in leaflet or pamphlet form showing why trade unionists should join in this movement, and to take steps to supply trade unions with this literature on the most advantageous terms; and this Conference further urges upon the delegates present to use every effort to induce their Executives to supply each one of their members with a copy of this statement."

Moved by the Woolwich Trades and Labour Council.

"That this Conference declares that in view of the combinations of capital and the federations of employers, it is necessary for the Trade Unions of the country to use their political power to defend

their existence and secure their demands, and while it deprecates the introduction of mere party politics into the Trade Union movement, it urges upon the Trade Unionists the necessity of combining on an independent platform for the following purposes: (1) The defence of the legal rights of combination; (2) The passing of such laws as will put an end to a system under which the producer of wealth has to bear an enormous burden in the shape of rents and profits which go to maintain large classes of non-producers."

Moved by the National Union of Dock Labourers.

"That this Congress, recognising the enormous public benefit of Municipal Trading, views with alarm the insidious attempts now being made by interested parties to cripple it, and calls upon all friends of local government to exert themselves to protect existing municipal rights and to defeat all attempts to interfere with the development of municipal activities."

Moved by the Independent Labour Party.

"That for the proper enfranchisement of the democracy this Congress declares the following reforms to be indispensable: (a) Adult suffrage; (b) the abolition of all political monopolies; (c) the payment from public funds of all legitimate election expenses and of all elected representatives."

Moved by the Independent Labour Party.

"That inasmuch as modern Imperialism with its attendant militarism is a reversion to one of the worst phases of barbarism, is inimical to social reform and disastrous to trade and commerce, a fruitful cause of war, destructive of freedom, fraught with menace to representative institutions at home and abroad, and must end in the destruction of democracy, this Congress desires most earnestly to impress upon the working class the urgent need there is for combating this dangerous and barbaric development in all its manifestations."

Moved by the Independent Labour Party.

"This Congress, believing the harrowing war in South Africa to be mainly due to the corrupt agitation of the Transvaal mine-owners, having for its object the acquisition of monopolies and a cheap supply of coloured and European labour, protests against the destruction of the two Republics as being contrary to all our ideals of national political justice, and respectfully invites the Government to endeavour to terminate hostilities by offering to submit to arbitration, under the provisions of the Hague Convention, all matters in dispute between Great Britain and the two States with which we are at war."

Moved by the Independent Labour Party.

The I.L.P. moved the following resolution:—

"This Congress of representatives of organised Labour, recognising that the inevitable tendency of privately-owned capital is towards combination in monopolies known as Trusts, is of opinion that the ownership and control of such vast aggregations of capital by private individuals are disastrous to the welfare of the consuming public, inimical to the social and political freedom of the people, and especially injurious to the industrial liberty and economic condition of the workers, declares that the final object of all democratic efforts must be to transfer all such private monopolies to public control as steps towards the creation of an Industrial Commonwealth founded upon the common ownership and control of land and capital and the substitution of co-operative production for use in place of the present method of competitive production for profit."

To this the S.D.F. moved an addition to the effect that all candidates receiving the support of the Committee should pledge themselves to a recognition of the class war.

After some discussion a delegate moved the "previous question," which was carried by a large majority.

The Conference closed with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

New Fabian Parish Council Tract.—The Executive Committee of the Fabian Society have ready a new and important pamphlet, "Five Years' Fruits of the Parish Councils Act." It has been specially prepared for the forthcoming Parish Councils Election in March. Copies for distribution will be supplied (post free at 1s. per dozen, or 6s. 6d. per 100, on receipt of stamps or other remittance) from the Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C. The election takes place a month earlier than usual, and this pamphlet should prove of immense service to all sorts and conditions of Socialist and Labour candidates, who will this year have to fight for their seats under especially difficult conditions.

N.A.C.

A meeting was held at Manchester on Wednesday and Thursday, January 30th and 31st, attended by J. Bruce Glasier, Joe Burgess, James Parker, J. R. MacDonald, Philip Snowden, and John Penny. Various arrangements for the Annual Conference were made.

The travelling fee for delegates under the pooling arrangement was fixed at 15/-. It was decided that the pooling of delegates' travelling expenses be done away with, the system in the opinion of the Council not having worked satisfactorily.

It was agreed that J. Keir Hardie and Jas. Parker should again be appointed I.L.P. Representatives on the Labour Representation Committee.

Joe Burgess presented a report on the Scottish Workers Parliamentary Conference held on January 5th, showing that 243 delegates attended the Conference, and that the prospects of the United Labour Movement in Scotland were full of promise. The Council agreed to subscribe two guineas to the new joint committee.

The financial position of the Party was considered, and it was shown that owing to the branches not properly paying fees there was likely to be a deficit on the year's work.

The new propaganda scheme was discussed at length and a plan of campaign drawn up, the details of which will be shortly communicated to the branches.

Jottings.

By JOHN PENNY, General Secretary.

FINANCIAL YEAR ends on the 28th of February. Cash received after that date will go into next year's accounts.

AFFILIATION FEES. As will be seen from page 8 the fees this month have amounted to the respectable sum of £40 4s. 8d. This compares very well with the £20 11s. 6d., received in January last year, and is indicative of a desire on the part of the branches to do their duty to the national organisation. The total for the year however, is still a long way below last year's, and I can only express the hope that branches will pay up royally during February, and thus place themselves and the N.A.C. in a better financial position.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE. Will be held in the Cook Memorial Hall, Leicester, on Easter Monday and Tuesday, April 8th and 9th.

REPRESENTATION. Branches are entitled to send delegates according to the following scale:—

25 members	1 delegate
51 "	2 "
125 "	3 "
225 "	4 "
325 "	5 "

The membership is based upon the amount of affiliation fees paid.

DELEGATE FEES. Branches are required to pay a fee of 10/- for each delegate sent. This is to cover the expenses of the conference such as rent, printing, etc.

TRAVELLING EXPENSES. As provided in the constitution the travelling expenses of delegates are to be pooled. The N.A.C. estimates that these will average 15/- per delegate, and this sum must be forwarded to the Head Office before the conference. The delegates must pay their own expenses to the conference and they will be refunded on the Monday morning. Delegates must travel in the cheapest way possible, taking advantage of excursion, week-end or other cheap tickets available. This 15/- is in addition to the 10/- delegate fee. Branches must remit the whole 25/- for each delegate before the conference. **NOTE**—The N.A.C. will recommend to the conference that the pooling arrangement be abolished as unsatisfactory.

ELECTED PERSONS' CONFERENCE. Will be held on Good Friday and following day in the Temperance Hall, Leicester. The joint secretaries are Ed. R. Pease, Fabian Society, and myself. We shall be glad to receive the names of Socialists and Labour members of public bodies who desire to attend, and offers of, and suggestions for, papers will be welcomed.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT INFORMATION BUREAU. The management committee has issued an interesting report on the work done since the inception of the Bureau. Subscriptions for the year 1901 are now due and should be remitted to Ed. R. Pease, 3, Clements Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

Election Results.

SCHOOL BOARD.

Blackburn	Higham	Gain	11,269
"	Seed	Not elected	10,548
Portsmouth	Hales	Gain	7,286
Huddersfield	Pickles	"	Unopposed
"	Riley	Re-elected	"
Ashton	Hirst	"	6,660
Sowerby Bridge	Bates	Gain	Unopposed
Midgley	Jones	Not elected	50
Calverly	Walker	No change	737

Summary from March 1st—35 candidates, 10 gains, 13 re-elected, 7 not elected, 5 losses. Total vote 236,797. Highest vote in any previous year 94,105.

THE SCOTTISH WORKERS' CONGRESS.

The first annual Conference, under the auspices of the Scottish Workers' Parliamentary Elections Committee, was held at Glasgow on Saturday, January 5th, in the hall of the Scottish Wholesale Co-operative Society, Limited, who granted the use of the premises free, and also entertained the delegates, 243 in number, of whom 150 were trade unionists, 47 socialists, and 46 co-operators, to lunch. The chair was taken by Mr. Henry Murphy, J.P., President of the Committee, and a director of the Wholesale Society. The report of the treasurer, Mr. George Seymour, also a prominent co-operator, showed that the income from contributions for the year amounted to £102 11s., of which £58 9s. was from co-operative societies, £39 8s. from trade unions, and £4 14s. from Socialist organisations. In justice to the I.L.P. it ought to be stated that the branches had had to meet a heavy drain during the year for election purposes, the Camlachie contest costing over £340. The Conference was a great success. On the newly elected committee the I.L.P. is well represented. In addition to the two direct delegates, Joseph Rogers and John Davidson, Robert Smithe and William Smith, of Dundee, were added to the committee as representing trade unionists, and Councillor Young, of Musselburgh, as representing co-operators. These three new members are I.L.P. members also. Mr. Henry Murphy, J.P., was re-elected chairman of the Committee, and Mr. George Seymour as treasurer. Mr. Robert Allen, of Edinburgh, a prominent member of the S.D.F., though sitting as a trade unionist, is again Secretary. Another notable addition to the Committee is Leslie, of Edinburgh, as representing the S.D.F. While emphasising these facts as indicating the character of the Committee, it is only right to add that no sectional interests are voiced on the Committee. The co-operators are the most loyal members, and there is every prospect that in the year upon which we have now entered we shall witness many new accessions among the co-operative societies, and an even larger aggregate subscription to the funds. Co-operators across the border are not as frightened as their English brethren of a new departure.

The General Federation of Trades Unions has 64 societies affiliated to it, with an aggregate of 385,575 members. The balance sheet for the quarter ending December last shows that the Federation has now £34,958 in hand, an advance of £6,807 on the previous quarter.

THE REFORMERS' YEAR BOOK:

being THE LABOUR ANNUAL for 1901,

IS NOW ALMOST READY.

Title, Portraits, Contents, all New. Also attractive cover, designed by Walter Crane.

Net Prices: 1/- and 2/-. By post, 3d. extra.

CLUBS can greatly help in a very difficult task by receiving and sending in orders at once. Terms to Clubs: 6 copies, 5/-; 13 copies, 10/-; 27 copies, 20/-. Cloth copies count double. Carriage paid, cash with order.

Send for some handbills for distribution.

JOSEPH EDWARDS, Wallasey, Cheshire.

MONTHLY REPORT FROM HEAD OFFICE.

JANUARY, 1901.

80 Branches paid Fees in January.

53 " sent reports without fees.
14 " pay fees quarterly.
50 " sent neither fees nor reports.

The income of the Head Office during January was:—

Affiliation Fees	...	...	£40	4	8
Election Fund	...	...	23	11	11
Sales	...	...	15	11	4
National Branch	...	...	0	9	3
Sundries	...	...	1	0	6
			£80	17	8

The Branch Report Sheet for February must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

CONSTITUTION.—Copies of the Constitution of the Party may be obtained from Head Office, price Fourpence per dozen, post free. Pence Cards are supplied at the same price. Samples on application.

NATIONAL BRANCH.—The National Branch of the I.L.P. is open to Socialists who endorse the objects and methods of the Party, but who are unable, through geographical or other difficulties, to join the nearest Branch. Members of the National Branch receive copies of all the official publications of the Party. Subscriptions for the year 1900 are now due, and should be sent to the Head Office. The amount of subscription is left to the discretion of the member.

OUR ELECTED PERSONS.—We are at all times glad to hear what our members on public bodies are doing. If comrades will supply us with reports or marked copies of newspapers containing records of their work, we shall be very greatly obliged.

UNATTACHED SYMPATHISERS.—Branches are recommended to prepare lists of known sympathisers in their districts. Such people should be asked to subscribe to the funds of the Party if they cannot see their way to become members. A printed form of invitation may be obtained from the Head Office, price 1s. 6d. per 100, post free.

NEW BRANCHES.

Blantyre—Secretary, John Berry, Bowie's Lane, Blantyre.
Crosskeys—Secretary, Vernon Hartshorn, 7, Provident Terrace, Pontywan, near Newport, Mon.
Larkhall—Secretary, Thomas Sharp, 9, Ayr Road, Larkhall, Lanarkshire.
Pontypridd—Secretary, F. H. Jones, 14, Thompson Street, Hopkinstown, Pontypridd.
Shrewsbury S.S.—Secretary, Frank Smout, 2, Albert Street, Shrewsbury.
Wellington S.S.—Secretary, Jack Beard, 36, New Street, Wellington, Salop.

NEW SECRETARIES.

Arbroath—John Jack, 10, Hope Street, Arbroath.
Barnsley—John Houlding, 7, Russell Terrace, Silver Street, Barnsley.
Blackburn—J. W. Mitchell, 84, Skiddaw Street, Blackburn.
Brighouse—Fred Ives, 46, Rosemary Place, Brighouse.
Bury—W. Scholefield, Cross Street, Clerke Street, Bury.
Brechin—C. Paterson, 34, Union Street, Brechin.
Glossop—W. Ryder, 2, Union Street, Glossop.
Holbeck—A. Bannister, 7, Barkston Place, Holbeck, Leeds.
Hackney—F. J. Smith, 75, Glyn Road, Homerton, N.E.
St. Pancras—J. F. N. Green, 59, St. John's Park Mansions, Pemberton Gardens, N.

Branch Fees and Reports.

The following Branches paid fees in January:—

Arbroath, 2s. 6d.; Armley, 4s. 6d.; Ashton-under-Lyne, £1 5s.; Attercliffe, £2; Ayr, 1s. 5d.; Ayr Central, 5s.; Barnsley, 5s. 10d.; Barrow, £1 5s.; Birmingham C., 2s.; Birmingham W., 6s.; Blackburn, 6s. 3d.; Blantyre, 2s. 2d.; Bolton, 5s.; Bootle, 6s. 3d.; Bordesley, 3s. 6d.; Brechin, 1s. 6d.; Bromley, 1s. 7d.; Bury, 10s.; Camlachie, 10s.; Carnoustie, 7d.; Clapham, 3s. 6d.; Cleckheaton, 4s. 6d.; Consett, 2s. 6d.; Darlington, 2s. 6d.; Derby, 10s.; Dowlais, 3s.; East Ham, 1s. 4d.; Edinburgh, 15s. 6d.; Farnworth, 5s.; Farsley, 3s. 6d.; Felling, 6s. 6d.; Gateshead, 9s.; Gillingham, 1s. 2d.; Glasgow City, 6s. 3d.; Gloucestershire S., 2s. 6d.; Halifax, £4; Hawick, 1s. 6d.; Hexham, paid: Holbeck, 1s. 2d.; Hollinwood, 6s.; Horwich, 7s. 6d.; Huddersfield, £1; Hutesontown, 10s.; Kensington N., 1s. 6d.; Kettering, 7s. 4d.; Langley Mill, 5s.; Leicester, 15s.; Lesmahagow, 1s.; Littleborough, 2s. 6d.; Liverpool, 7s. 6d.; London City, 4s. 2d.; Manchester, £12 10s.; Middlesborough, 3s. 4d.; Milnsbridge, paid; Motherwell, 1s. 8d.; New Marske, 1s. 6d.; Norwich, 9s. 6d.; Nottingham, 9s.; Oldham S. S., 2s.; Paisley, 8s. 4d.; Pendlebury, 4s. 6d.; Portsmouth, 5s.; Preston, 5s.; Rotherham, 4s.; St. Rollox, 8s. 4d.; Salford W., 10s.; South Shields, 2s. 6d.; Sowerby, 6s. 4d.; Spen Valley, S.S., 2s. 4d.; Stewarton, 2s. 3d.; Sutton-in-Ashfield, 7d.; Thornhill Lees, £1 5s.; Tottenham, 1s. 6d.; Warrington, 3s. 6d.; Wednesbury, 1s. 2d.; Werneth, 7s. 6d.; West Ham N., 2s. 6d.; Woolwich, 3s.; Yeadon, 1s. 10d.; Ystalyfera, 1s.

The following Branches pay fees quarterly:—

Finsbury, Govan, Long Eaton, Longwood, Middleton, Mossley, Musselburgh, Nelson, Rothwell, Rutherglen, Thornaby, Townhill, Workington, York. (14)

The following Branches sent reports without fees:—

Abertillery, Ashford, Attercliffe, Berkeley, Bermondsey, Birkenhead, Bradford, Brighouse, Cardiff, Cheltenham, Chester, Clydebank, Doncaster, Dundee, Earlestown, Eccles, Fulham, Glossop, Gloucester, Grantham, Hackney, Hartlepool, Heckmondwike, Hull, Inverness, Keighley, Kilmarnock, Kirriemuir, Lancaster, Leeds C., Leeds N., Lye, Maescywmmer, Newcastle, Newport, Oakengates, Openshaw, Penyarden, Pudsey, Rochdale, St. Helens S.S., St. Pancras, Shildon, Stockton, Sunderland, Tradeston, Tyldesley, Walsden, Walsall, West Bromwich, West Ham S., Wishaw, Wolverhampton. (53)

The following Branches sent neither fees nor reports:—

Anfield Plain, Aston, Bath, Bedlinog, Bridgeton, Burslem, Chalford, Chesterfield, Cirencester College, Colne Valley, Cowdenbeath, Cowling, Crewe, Crook, Crosshills, Darwen, Dudley, Dumfries, Elland, Greenwith, Halton E., Hunslet, Hyde, Islington, Leith, Limehouse, Macclesfield, Mansfield, Merthyr Vale, Mexborough, Montrose, Normanton, Oakworth, Oldham C., Ossett, Otley, Partick, Peckham, Pudsey, Ripley, Rishton, Southampton, Spen Colliery, Spennymoor, Stalybridge, Stockport, Stroud, Vale of Leven, Yarmouth. (50)

OTHER CASH RECEIVED IN JANUARY.

Sales.—Hackney 10½d., Halifax 12s. 9d., Womens' Industrial Council 7s. 6d., Liverpool 8s. 8d., Manchester £3 1s. 11d., Hollinwood 11s. 7d., Wishaw 4s. 9., Glossop 4s. 11d., City London 3s. 1d., Brechin 9d., Middlesborough 1s. 9d., W. Birmingham 2s., Glasgow 5s. 6d., Derby 2s., Rotherham 1s. 10d., Norwich 9s., S. West Ham 10½d., Penyarden 6s., Bromley 11d., Felling 2s. 4½d., Yeadon 1s. 7d., New Marske 4s., Consett 10½d., Lilycroft 13s. 2d., Leeds 1s. 8d., Gillingham 10½d., Portsmouth 1s. 10d., Kettering 2s. 8d., South Shields 10½d., Paisley 3s. 9d., Motherwell 10½d., Pendlebury 4s. 6d., Arbroath 3s. 1½d., Darlington 1s. 3½d., Horwich 8d., Sowerby 5s. 10d., Bootle 5s. 9., Hutesontown £1 13s. 6d., Glasgow City 10½d., Cash Sales £3 14s. 7d. Total £15 11s. 4d.

National Branch.—S. McGowan 1s., H. Williams 5s., T. Wilkinson 1s. 3d., J. S. Bruce 2s. Total 9s. 3d.

Election Fund.—Hull I.L.P. £1 6s. 10d., Longwood Labour Club 3s. 9d., J. Edge 1s., J. Watt, collected 2s. E. King, collected 1s. 6d., F. Wright, 1s., E. Wright, collected 4s. 6d., O. Jenkins, collected 5s. 3d., W. Richards, collected 5s., T. Harby, collected 11s. 9d., Lancaster I.L.P. 3s., F. Davies 1s., Bromley I.L.P. 2s. 6d., Horwich I.L.P. 9s., Rutherglen comrades 4s. 7d., Derby I.L.P. 1s., Maescywmmer I.L.P. 15s., Returned from Constituencies: Merthyr Tydvil £18 13s. 3d. Total £23 11s. 11d.

Sundries.—F. Merry £1., A. F. 6d. Total £1 0s. 6d.

JOHN PENNY, Gen. Sec.

I.L.P. NEWS.

THE MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

No. 48. Vol. IV.

MARCH, 1901.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

PARLIAMENT opened a month ago. Its time has been chiefly occupied by discussions upon the address in reply to the Message from the Throne.

* * *

Not quite as fruitless an occupation for Parliament as it might seem. Although in itself an antiquated and rather absurd formality, the Address to the Throne affords the House of Commons an excellent opportunity of discussing with great freedom the policy of the Government and the state of the Empire at home and abroad. Obsolete, therefore, as the usual Address to the Throne may be, its abolition (unless some provision were made in its place—which is unlikely) would be a serious blow to the privileges of speech in the House of Commons.

* * *

It is many years since there existed greater need and urgency for a general discussion on the nation's affairs than at present; and we are glad to be able to acknowledge that the debates which have taken place on the Address have, despite the feebleness of the official Opposition, well fulfilled that purpose. In the discussions upon Mr. Dillon's amendment condemning the war, and on the amendment in favour of an Eight Hours' Act for Miners, many searching and sturdy speeches have been delivered, and already the security and ~~dominance of the Government, buttressed with its mighty majority, is perceptibly weakened.~~

* * *

To attribute to speech-making any really useful and national purpose is, to be sure, to risk the rebuke of a certain school of cynics. Nevertheless, there is, we affirm, nothing the country is more in need of at this hour than plenty of speech making. Speech making is a most wholesome resolvent of national obstructions and ill humours. The suppression of speech on the platform and the press in recent times has been quite an ominous sign. Speeches in themselves may be good or bad, but it is by speech-making, bold and free, that freedom is preserved. The alternative to speech-making is not silence and peace, but war and the dungeon. Speech-making has been effectually closed (for the time being) in the Parliaments—or "talking shops," as they are sometimes unkindly called—of the South African Republics, and the roar of cannon and the flame of home-steads are grim celebrations of the achievement.

* * *

In the course of his speech on Mr. Dillon's Amendment to the Address, Keir Hardie took occasion to strongly comment upon the conduct of the pro-war press in pouring out abuse upon the *Manchester Guardian* and the South African Conciliation Committee for publishing the now notorious Morrison letter. The Jingo papers so far forgot themselves as to impudently declare that none but villainously unscrupulous newspapers would venture to publish statements which they had not carefully authen-

ticated and verified. The hypocrites! with the print scarcely dry on their sheets describing fictitious outrages upon Outlanders in the Transvaal and massacres of the Legations in China. The mistake of the *Guardian*, as Hardie pointed out, in copying the letter from the *New York Sun*, was a venial one compared with the "mistake" of the *London Sun* and other papers in announcing on Thursday, 28th February, the receipt of "official" news that General Botha had surrendered.

* * *

Although much that is alien to Socialism is said and done by the Irish Party, it is impossible for Socialists not to heartily appreciate their re-appearance this session in Parliament as a fighting host. They have rendered immense service to the country by their fearless, even if in some respects irresponsible, criticisms of the Government policy and the conduct of the war in South Africa. They have been a burning and a shining light to the timid Liberal opposition, and have, quite apart from their flare up over the closing of the debate on the £17,000,000 vote on account, helped greatly to enliven the proceedings of Parliament and make more cheerful the outlook of the session.

* * *

No thoughtful reformer will profess to approve rowdiness, either in Parliament or outside of it, and Socialists certainly have no reason to regard disobedience to the ruling of the Chair as forming any part of the right of free and democratic discussion. But an occasional outburst of defiance or disorder, especially if immediate provocation exists, should be clearly distinguished from persistent or systematic disobedience. In the case of the disturbance which took place over the closing of the debate on the vote on account, there was undoubtedly great justification for the resentment displayed by the Irish members, and there can be little doubt but the Government were primarily to blame for the scenes that followed. Certainly the new standing order adopted in consequence of the fracas, giving the Speaker power, "without further question, to suspend for the remainder of the Session" any recalcitrant member, is a very dangerous ordinance, and quite uncalled for.

* * *

Life is short, but Clericalism is long. The Lacemakers' Union of Calais being anxious to repay a loan of £1000, borrowed from the Nottingham Lacemakers' Society during the recent strike, resolved to levy its members to repay the amount. Whereupon *La Croix*, an ardent clerical journal which is edited by an Abbé, speaks out in the following pious fashion:—

The Committee of the Calais Union want to make the ex-strikers pay 15 francs each to refund to the English the monetary aid advanced by them. The lacemakers will act wisely to keep their 15 francs, and send the strike leaders and their English friends to the devil.

What like the world would be without religious teaching is a conundrum frequently addressed to us even

on this side of the Channel. It would not, we fancy, be difficult to answer the question of what like the world would be if "religious" instruction of the description afforded us by *La Croix* were abolished—if need be even by the powerful arm of the secular State. The world might then have a chance of becoming clean and honest. It is all a question, we suppose, of the kind of religious teaching. There are, however, many indications that clericalism, alike with its tendency and its example, is no whit less arrogant and immoral to-day than it was five hundred years ago.

* * *

"Those who interest themselves," says the *Manchester Evening News*, "in the earnings of women of the humblest sort should have their attention drawn to a case tried at St. Helens yesterday, in which the Lancashire Moss Litter Company were the defendants. During the hearing the manager of the company made the astounding statement that the 'standard wage' of the women employed by the company was about one penny farthing an hour. A week's work of sixty hours will bring them in about six shillings. To dignify payment at this rate by the term 'standard wage' is extraordinary, to say the least of it. How the women keep body and soul together on such scant earnings passes the comprehension of most folk."

* * *

And yet, strange as it may seem to the *Manchester Evening News*, the wage of a penny farthing an hour is, according to its own Manchester School of Liberalism and Political Economy, quite a right and proper wage to pay these poor women, inasmuch as these poor women can be had for the money. The question of whether they live or die upon such a wage is a question which the poor people must settle for themselves. If they die there are evidently plenty more poor women who are ready to offer themselves in their place. "Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market"—that is the law and the prophets of modern Capitalism, and all interference with it, even for humanity's sake, is full of the peril of Socialism.

* * *

Who knows, too, but if all working women and working men in Britain could be induced to live and die upon a wage of a penny farthing an hour, the danger of foreign competition destroying our trade might be postponed for a century or so? And, after all, Trade—profitable Trade—profitable to the capitalist, that is to say—is not that the chief end of our nation's existence? Might it not even happen, if only the trade unions would agree to lower their wages down to the level of the standard of the Lancashire Moss Litter Company, that the probability of the capitalists having to resort to the importation of cheap Chinese labour in Britain might be indefinitely delayed, thereby securing a prolonged era of Britain for the British working-class, with plenty of work and plenty of poverty?

In Spain there is a universal feeling in favour of provincial Home Rule, peace, retrenchment, and reform. Carlist and military self-seekers are trying to exploit this feeling for their own ends. In Italy the same sort of discontent is exploited by the Roman Clergy. The Socialist papers of Naples have charged the Town Council with being the paid tools of the Camorra; and this has led to the resignation of the whole Council!

Philip Snowden's Debate with Mr. Markham, M.P.

Reports of the interesting conflict between Mr. A. B. Markham, M.P., and Councillor Philip Snowden on the interesting subject of "Liberalism or Socialism—Which?" did not reach us in time for our last issue. The debate, which was arranged by the enterprise of the local I.L.P., took place on Monday evening, 6th February, in the Town Hall, Sutton-in-Ashfield. Great interest was taken in the tournament, and the hall was well filled. The *Nottinghamshire Free Press* and other papers reported the speeches very fully. Space in these columns does not admit of even a précis of the arguments of the speakers, and we must content ourselves with subjoining a few points from Philip Snowden's replies. Alike Mr. Markham and the press cordially acknowledged the ability with which the Independent Labour side was maintained, and there can be no doubt that Snowden carried the day, or rather the night, against his opponent.

Mr. Markham, it will be remembered, made quite a reputation for himself by his masterly criticism of Mr. Chamberlain's speech, delivered during the recent interim session of Parliament.

A Few Points from Philip Snowden's Replies.

I maintain that Liberalism, neither by its creed, nor by its history, nor by its present position, is competent to deal effectively with social and industrial reforms; and I maintain further that it is only by Socialism that those reforms can be secured.

I might be prepared to grant that the Liberal party has been most anxious for those reforms during the past 80 years, though I do not admit it. The position I take up is this—that giving the Liberal party credit for its good intentions, the record of its achievements during the last 70 years condemns it as utterly incapable. It has manifested a miserable incapacity, and it has failed to rise to the greatness of its opportunities.

The great object of Liberalism during the last 80 years has been the enfranchisement of the people, but what has it done for the political enfranchisement? I maintain, and defy contradiction, that the doors of the House of Commons are as closed to the great masses of the people as before the Reform Act. There are in the House of Commons fewer independent representatives of the working classes than had a place in the unreformed Parliament.

At the last election Mr. Markham polled a large vote in this constituency, but I polled nearly a thousand more votes at Blackburn, and yet am not a member of Parliament.

Mr. Markham is surprised at my statement that three out of every five has no vote. In this case Mr. Markham has not manifested his chivalry, for he has left the women out of the question. Every man and woman has to bear the laws of the country, and therefore they ought to have a voice in the making of those laws.

Mr. Markham has said that half a loaf is better than none; but I wish to ask him if he is prepared to argue that half a pair of trousers is better than none? We have got the one half long ago, and we are now waiting for the other half.

Mr. Markham tells us that Mr. Isitt, of New Zealand, informed him that the greatest hindrance to temperance reform in this country was the Independent Labour Party. To that I might reply that I have been informed by a high authority in New Zealand that the greatest hindrance to temperance reform in that country is Mr. Isitt and his temperance fanatics; and it is the same in this country.

Signs and Circumstances.

The intensity of racial feeling in big and little groupings continues to be a permanent source of danger to international progress and to the intelligent study of social problems. When some centuries of nurture have been applied to this feeling, as in Ireland and Bohemia, it is desirable that Home Rule, or the grant of provincial Parliaments for internal affairs, should gratify the feelings of excited Nationalists. Unfortunately, the predominant Saxons of old England and the predominant Germans of old Austria do not take this commonsense view. The ultramontanes in Ireland, as in Paris and Bohemia, exploit political dissatisfaction for their own ends, as in Italy they utilise the prevalent social discontent. But, in spite of such discontent, it is plain that neither in Italy nor in Spain nor Austria is the Church gaining any ground. The Emperor of Germany would be glad to fish in troubled waters. He would like to add to his continental empire by taking in the German possessions of Austria, and to his trade and sea empire by annexing Holland. But the people of Germany are afraid of war, fear Russia, and hate England; while the Emperor means to develop foreign trade with the help of the English government. Russia is glad to see the English army locked up in Africa, while she can extend her frontiers in Mongolia and Manchuria. Thus, in spite of the criminal jingo hypocrisy of pressmen and churchmen, the prospects are in favour of international peace for some little time.

Those who are interested in the history of Ireland in the 19th century should read the French book on the subject, published by Plons, Nourrit, and entitled "L'Irlande et L'Angleterre," by Francis de Pressensé. M. de Pressensé's father was a scholarly theologian of the little Protestant Church of France. The younger Pressensé is the foreign correspondent of *Le Temps*, and has a position in French journalism of considerable influence, which he uses in favour of international peace. He has recently been writing to the London *Speaker* to maintain the thesis that sincere Liberals ought not only to stick to peace, retrenchment, and reform, but also to move on towards Socialism. The *Speaker* accepts the first piece of advice, but is deaf to the second. A large section of English Liberals refuses to listen either to peace politicians or to Socialists, while the official wirepullers continue to maintain that the mouthing of abstract platitudes will do instead of a frank facing of all the details of the difficult problems connected with the Church, temperance, housing, Home Rule, taxation of ground values, old age pensions, &c. The officials and rich Whigs have never been converted even to the principles of their own Newcastle programme.

The Directors of railway companies, of coal mines, &c., in their annual reports, are doing their best to lay the blame of high prices upon the members of trade unions, who, we are told, refuse to shunt more than so many trucks, or lay so many bricks in an hour. Of course, the union workmen wish to lengthen jobs, shorten hours, get overtime, and so increase wages. Their methods may or may not be opposed to the general good, though, of course, the provision of fair work for a minimum wage is a gain not only for individuals but also for the whole community. But the methods of artisans' unions, in striving to get the highest possible profit for the least possible work, are simply the same as those practised by all other groups and classes, for royalties, Cecils, landlords, lawyers, and judges, through all the commercial system, downwards to Board School teachers, farmers, chemists, bagmen, and company promoters. The competitive commercial system encourages each man to aim at private profit, and to get on the backs of other men if he can. This ideal is admired in the rich but blamed in the poor. The man who gets orders by bribes objects to similar presents being given to his cook or gardener. The man who gets dividends out of adulterated beer says that the working-man is a boozy, worthless blackguard. The lawyer or doctor would like to buy a plumber or carpenter by the isolated competition which he prevents in his own business. Truly, a mad world, my masters; and humbug is the idol of the English Christian bourgeoisie.

J.A.F.

John Morley "is very much obliged by the resolution which the Arbroath branch of the I.L.P. have been so kind as to send to him, and he entirely sympathises with it." The resolution was in favour of a conference of representative men from South Africa, with a view to bringing about an honourable settlement of the whole South African question.

The Working Class Found Wanting.

In the first of a series of lectures which he is giving in the High-Pavement Chapel, Nottingham, on the subject of "Social Aspects of Christianity," the Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas discussed in a fair and appreciative spirit the claims of modern Socialism. His analysis of the grounds of fear of excessive state interference was temperate and clear, while his condemnation of the immorality of the existing capitalist system was expressed in unhesitating and impassioned phrase. We venture to quote from the conclusion of Mr. Thomas's lecture a statement of his views concerning democracy in the immediate future. His remarks are interesting, because they are evidently the utterance of an independent mind, and because they illustrate a feeling of disappointment with the working class, which appears to be much more commonly felt to-day than twenty years ago. The uprising of Jingoism, and the huge growth of popular interest in betting, football, and all forms of garish excitement in our towns and villages, are incidents in the career of the democracy which were not foreseen by the earlier band of political democrats. Mr. Thomas does not, however, condemn the faults of the poor that he may condone the injustice of the rich. There is an echo of Carlyle in his deliverance:

I cannot flatter the working classes. The most disheartening thing in modern life is the apathy of the working classes with regard to their own welfare. You cannot, of course, indict a class any more than you can indict a nation. But of an appalling number of the workers it is true that they will fill the public-houses, they will swarm into the lowest theatres and the most vulgar music halls, they will flock to pleasure like flies to honey, they will crowd to see a procession or some spectacular display just as the slaves of Rome crowded to the amphitheatres, they will join in every fiendish yell for war, they will glut their brains with the sensations of the vilest newspapers. People of that kind must be saved even by physical protection from themselves as well as from the classes who exploit them for personal gain: they cannot be reached by mere preaching. Indeed, our preachers have disgracefully neglected their duties. Some have played the demagogue to the gallery in order to fill their churches, some have truckled to the rich who pay their salaries, but only a few have courageously helped to form an enlightened public opinion, a pure social enthusiasm. I look first of all not to the crowd, nor yet to the kings and princes of commerce, but to the educated professional and non-capitalist classes—to those that are not directly engaged in industrial warfare. It is these who must give the world a brave and bold moral lead. My trust is indeed in democracy, but in a democracy inspired not as now by a plutocracy of wealth, but by a true aristocracy of intellect and of love.

An Open Letter to the King.

In "An Open Letter to His Majesty the King, by One of his Subjects," just issued from the *Labour Leader* Office, a difficult task has been well and usefully accomplished. We say difficult task, because open letters traversing current political topics are in any case apt to be supererogatory, and a communication of that kind publicly addressed to the monarch has in addition the danger of seeming highly presumptuous. The *Labour Leader* document is, however, singularly free from either offensively laudatory or truculent phrase. It is, indeed, simple, respectful, and grave in style, and it succeeds in placing a statement of the case against the war, and a plea for peace, in words and arguments of great interest and impressiveness. The leaflet, alike from its title and from its substance, is one of the very best that could be put in the hands of the public at the present juncture.

What the I.L.P. is Doing.

Paisley Branch has held a most successful series of Sunday evening lectures in the Clarke Town Hall. The hall is the best in town, and the meetings have been well attended and appreciated by the public. The Sunday School, under the superintendence of Mr. Love, is an admirable one.

Harry Brockhouse has been re-elected unopposed to the West Bromwich School Board. He will now have a supporter, as a Council representative has been elected with him.

Bailie Brown (I.L.P.) of Paisley, has been speaking with much freedom in the Town Council against vaccination and the public affectation of grief for the late Queen.

The Sunday School in connection with the Rutterglen I.L.P. has proved a means of remarkable revival in the Branch. Once a month the School has a joint meeting with the Branch, and addresses are given by prominent lecturers.

W. P. Lodge, I.L.P. Elective Auditor at Ashton-under-Lyne, has been re-elected unopposed.

Keir Hardie's speech on the Miners' Eight Hours' Bill was the most telling he has made in the present Parliament. The newspapers note that he wildly waved his hat when the measure passed the second reading.

Councillor P. G. Stewart (I.L.P.), Glasgow, states that £800 was offered him by a prominent local politician to contest the Hutchesontown division as an I.L.P. candidate. We need hardly say that the local politician made the offer in the interests of a party that affects deep indignation at the corruption of the Boer government.

Philip Snowden had an enormous audience in the Circus at Blackburn on Sunday, 10th February. Robert Blatchford, who was to preside, was unfortunately prevented by illness. Mr. Bruce Glasier also addressed two crowded meetings in the Venetian Hall on March 3rd.

The March number of the *Pioneer*, issued by the Pendlebury I.L.P., in addition to a portrait and life sketch of Jas. Johnston, J.P., contains a great deal of instructive matter relating to local collectivist reform. The Branch is running Mr. M. Tynan for the District Council elections. If elected, he will be the fourth I.L.P. member on the Board.

Emile Vanderveldt and his English bride were married at Hammersmith on St. Valentine's day. The London City Branch gave the couple a reception on the eve of their wedding, and the Chairman of the I.L.P. sent a telegram of hearty felicitation on behalf of the Party.

Bruce Glasier addressed two special organising meetings of members of the Glasgow I.L.P. during his recent visit to Scotland. He strongly urged the necessity of making the regular payment of fees to branches and to headquarters an essential criterion of good faith and good fellowship in the movement.

S. D. Shallard has been delivering a series of Fabian lectures in South Wales.

Willie Wright is working underground, and is earning his bread by the sweat of his brow. Agitation has not provided him with the means of exemption from the primal edict.

Pete Curran's lecture on his American experiences proved one of the most attractive of this winter's series of Sunday evening I.L.P. lectures in the St. James' Hall, Manchester.

W. Ward had an enthusiastic reception on his recent return to the neighbourhood of his splendid parliamentary fight in the Gorton division.

The *Blackburn Telegraph* credits Mr. Billson with entertaining no animosity towards the I.L.P., although it declares that he owed his defeat to the candidature of Councillor Parker. It hopes that in future cross fighting between Liberals and Labour candidates, when there is a Tory in the field, will be avoided.

New members are being constantly added to the York Branch, which never was in stronger or better condition. Fred Morley, the Secretary, is to be heartily congratulated on the success of his untiring efforts.

Independent Labour Party.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

All inquiries with respect to the I.L.P. should be addressed to the above office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming branches are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

I.L.P. PUBLICATIONS.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Large Poster 65in. by 45in. Deals with the aims and position of the Party. Clearly printed, and easily read. Price, 3s. per doz.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Small Poster. Suitable for window display, size 17½in. by 22½in. Price, 9d. per doz.

Members' Pence Cards.—4d. per doz., post free.

Rules.—To insert in Pence Cards (with rubber bands), 4d. per doz.

I.L.P. News.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

Subscription Rates: One year, 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month, 1½d. Post free. For advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News," Fleet Street, E.C.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, E.C.

No. 48.

MARCH, 1901.

The Branches and the Annual Conference.

It is futile, perhaps, to expect that by further emphasising the importance of the forthcoming Annual Conference branches which have neglected to take steps to be represented will at the eleventh hour repent themselves of the omission. Yet we will venture once again to remind those branches that by neglecting to send delegates they fail gravely in their duty. Only by branches being fully represented at the Conference can the national strength and ambition of the movement be impressed upon the public; and only by all the branches taking part in the proceedings can the Party be maintained in a state of vigour and democratic efficiency.

Socialists have frequently to complain of the apathy of the working classes towards their political interests; but what can we expect of the unregenerate workers if the regenerate give so little evidence of anxiety to look after their own national affairs as do certain of our I.L.P. branches?

For several years the Annual Conference has, in point of numbers, misrepresented rather than represented the national strength of the Party. No doubt the expense of sending delegates places an appreciable strain upon the branches—especially upon the smaller ones. It is a strain, too, that working-men are not accustomed to bear in connection with other political or industrial movements. Generally, in such organisations, the outlay for delegates is borne by richer subscribers, or it comes out of the accumulated funds of the Society. But although the cost of sending delegates to the Conference may throw a little extra burden upon the finances of many of the branches, it is a burden that branches ought not to hesitate to bear.

We notice on the agenda paper a resolution in the name of the Openshaw Branch in favour of triennial Conferences instead of annual ones. This proposal is

one which will be regarded by many as highly complimentary to the National Administrative Council, and we have no doubt but the Council well merits the appreciation. The proposal would naturally, if we understand it aright, confer upon the Council the power to rule without a parliament for three years: a graceful monarchical privilege. Derby Branch, on the other hand, wishes the executive functions of the organisation to be performed by the branches; this in turn is very great, if not gross, flattery to the branches, many of whom will be amazed to learn that Derby has such confidence in their administrative zeal and capacity.

There are, in fact, notices upon the agenda paper to abolish the Chairman, to abolish the National Administrative Council, and to abolish the Conference itself, proposals all intended, no doubt, to facilitate and improve the organisation of the movement. It is surprising, however, that no ingenious branch has hit upon the idea of proposing the abolition likewise, of the branches themselves, as it is evident that by so doing all trouble concerning the organisation of the Party would be once and for all ended!

Seriously, we would remind our members that there is no royal road to democracy; and that the cutting off of heads and the abolition of parliaments are no more means towards establishing a self-governing Independent Party than a self-governing and independent nation. If the I.L.P. is to be made the great national movement that we hope to see it, it will not be by whittling down its central functions and encouraging each branch to peg on in its own individualistic and indolent way, but by furnishing the Party with every means of high organisation and national capacity. The Annual Conference of the Party is the chief and, indeed, virtually the only opportunity the Party has of acquiring the habit and power of national government. Conferences and Councils may not accomplish much; but since the beginning of things no political liberty or collectivist institutions have been possible without them.

The Progressive Triumph.

London has done well. The remarkable success achieved by the Progressives at the County Council Elections is fraught not only with hope for the future of the Metropolis, but with encouragement to the cause of municipal collectivism throughout the land. There can be no hesitation on the part of Socialists in declaring that the London working-class in voting for the Progressives did the right thing. Whatever the faults or the hypocracies of many of the Progressives may be, these faults and hypocracies are more than abundantly shared by their opponents—the Moderates. At least the Progressives stood, however irresolutely, for reform, municipal enterprise, and municipal control. Their opponents stood solid for reaction, for anti-municipalism, and for the continuance of capitalist, landlord, and publican exploitation of the community. A triumph for the Moderates would have been hailed with rapturous delight by the opponents of Socialism and Labour in every part of the kingdom.

Could it be alleged that had the London electors refused to support the Progressives they would have done so because they were dissatisfied with the failure of

the Progressives to advance far enough or quickly enough, we might appreciate the position of those few Socialists who desired to see the Progressives defeated. But who can delude himself with such a notion? Who believes that in London, where the whole appeal of the Moderates has been against the London County Council for molesting private enterprise, and for using public money for the public good, that the working class would have displayed their enthusiasm for social reform had they voted for the enemies of that policy? The embattled forces of the landlords, the water companies, the speculative builders, the brewers, and the publicans were ranged on the side of the Moderates.

Considering the enormous difficulties they have to contend against, the Progressives have done really most useful, if not heroic or revolutionary, work for the London community. The measures and schemes they have on hand dealing with the water, housing, tramways, taxation, etc., are all such—inadequate as they may be in scope—as form part of the process of municipal socialism advocated by Socialists in all our provincial towns. It would, of course, be a splendid thing could we have an unequivocal Socialist party returned to the London County Council. But for some reason the London elector does not meanwhile put much faith in London “revolutionary” socialism, and he is not likely to be encouraged to do so by a most inopportune policy of spoiling the Progressives.

It will be seen from the General Secretary's statement this month that the affiliation fees for February reached a higher total than during any month of the last two years, and have only twice been exceeded in the history of the Party. This is a very tangible token of revival, and gives promise of a most successful year.

The Annual Conference of the I.L.P. takes place on Monday and Tuesday, 8th and 9th April, in Leicester. The delegate's fee is 10s.; in addition, 15s. has to be paid for each delegate, who in return receives his return railway fare, irrespective of distance.

A few Sundays ago, Mr. H. M. Hyndman amazed the Albion Hall audience in Glasgow by declaring his anxiety to meet in debate and smash J. R. Macdonald, Keir Hardie, Bruce Glasier, Joe Burgess, or any other I.L.P. “traitors” who dared to doubt the superlative importance of some pet dogma of his. So far as we are aware none of these men, and indeed none of the I.L.P. lecturers, had either in the Albion Halls or elsewhere gone out of their way to refer either to Mr. Hyndman or any of his economic notions. I.L.P. lecturers, to their credit be it said, are not in the habit of misusing public platforms to gratuitously assail the views of any member of the Social Democratic Federation. They are disposed rather, even if they differ from the views of their fellow Socialists upon any item of their creed, not to intrude their differences upon public platforms for the gratification or disgust of the unconverted. Recently, too, at Blackburn, where the I.L.P. and the S.D.F. have worked and are working cordially and successfully together, Mr. Hyndman said things which could only tend, however they may have been meant, to produce distrust and disaffection between the two bodies.

Surely with the sad depredations of our Government in South Africa, in China, and in India, and with the direful oppression of Capitalism at home, Socialists have enough earnest battle to do in common without having need or inclination to begin and rend each other. For ourselves we believe that the entire host of the I.L.P. is desirous of working in friendly co-operation with the S.D.F. in furthering all aims that they have in common, and of agreeing to differ without unfriendliness on points of doctrine or method upon which they entertain divergent views. Nor will the I.L.P., we feel sure, allow the thoughtless behaviour of Mr. Hyndman, or any one else, to disturb the good relations that subsist between its members and those of the S.D.F. in any part of the country.

Workhouse Neglect.

A CORONER'S PROTEST.

One of those sadly frequent cases which should afford a strong enough incentive towards securing the election of representatives on Boards of Guardians who will see that more attention and kindly interest is taken in the care of the inmates, was brought to light recently at the Manchester Coroner's Court. It appears that a poor widow, 78 years old, an inmate of the imbecile ward of the Prestwich Union, died "from senile debility, aggravated by a fracture of the thigh, there being no evidence to show how the injury had been caused." The Coroner made the following remarks to the jury:—"The whole matter seemed to have been treated as a matter of course, and very little, if any, inquiry had been made into it. There was no doubt at all that there was serious mischief on January 9th., and by not knowing it the authorities had been very lax in their management. The old woman was lying in bed unable to move, with a black eye and bruised thigh, from January 9th to January 23rd, and no one could have much doubt that her thigh was broken. No efficient inquiry or examination had been made into the cause of the accident; no one from the institution was able to say how it was done, and he could only make one remark about it, and that was they ought to have been able to tell about it. The

fact that a woman should be left lying for a fortnight with a broken thigh showed bad management. We have no explanation of it, and we ought to have. I am strongly of opinion that if the management had been good there would have been an explanation. I am afraid that we will have to leave the case where it is. I cannot help feeling that this old woman has not had the care and supervision she ought to have had. It was the business of the nurses and everybody to know that they were servants of the old woman; they are paid to look after her, and they have no right to come here and say they don't know. Unfortunately there was a growing tendency on the part of people to regard patients as a nuisance if they wanted assistance."

In these days, the power to hush up things in high quarters, in a word, the power of sham, is well organised and almost impregnable.
BURDETT COUTTS.

The constant background of poverty is well adapted to spoil life. Walking the streets, how seldom one sees an educated face. How dull, uninterested, uncultured, and uninteresting the mass of mortals are.—PROFESSOR OLIVER LODGE.

The slavery of our times is very clearly and definitely produced, not by some iron elemental law, but by human enactments—about land, about taxes, and about property.—TOLSTOI.

Every permanent improvement of the soil, every railway and road, every bettering of the general condition of society, every facility given for production, every stimulus supplied to consumption, raises rent. The landowner sleeps—but thrives.—
THOROLD ROGERS.

The benefactors of humanity are those who have thought great thoughts about her; but her masters and her idols are those who have flattered and despised her, those who have muzzled and flattered her, inflamed her with fanaticism, or used her for selfish purposes.—AMIEL.

I.L.P. and Trades Union Alliance.

In addition to its chief aim of organising a definite Socialist-Labour party in the country, the I.L.P. took upon itself at the outset the task of endeavouring to win the political forces of Trades Unionism from the control of the capitalist parties, and to combine those forces on an independent political platform. The recent joint Labour and Socialist candidatures at the General Election, and the two joint Labour and Socialist Conferences recently held in Glasgow and Manchester, afford gratifying testimony of the success which has attended the I.L.P. in its task. At both the above-mentioned Conferences not only was there displayed great unanimity in maintaining an attitude of political independence, but in agreeing to work harmoniously with the Socialist organisations.

Not until the formation of Labour Representation Committees during the year before last in Scotland and last year in England was the policy of promoting independent Labour candidatures for Parliament acknowledged in a practical form by Trades Union or Co-operative Societies. Both these Committees were the outcome of I.L.P. suggestion and effort. The I.L.P. not only inaugurated the Socialist policy of seeking to work with Trade Unions and Co-operators on the simple basis of political independence, but is indeed the only Socialist organisation which even now heartily endorses that policy.

The I.L.P. is willing to face the inconveniences—if any arise—as well as to accept the advantages of such an alliance, if only the principle of independence is fairly respected by the Trades Unions. It is willing to do so because it believes that once the political forces of Trades Unionism are definitely severed from the capitalist parties, the onward march of democracy towards Socialism will be rapid and irresistible.

London County Council Enterprise.

In an interesting lecture lately delivered at Clifford's Inn, Strand, under the auspices of the Fabian Society, Sydney Webb maintained that the retiring County Council of London had accomplished three times as much work as any previous Council. He showed that there were in 1900 no fewer than sixty-one street improvements taken in hand, in addition to the much discussed Holborn to Strand scheme. In commenting on London's ninety-one parks, he said that London now possessed nine square miles of "open space" out of its 120 square miles, and that at no greater cost than a penny per quarter to each of her citizens. The music hall policy had been justified by an increase of 100,000 seats in twelve years, and it would seem that "music halls pay better than anything, excepting gold mines." Duplicating the main drainage and electrifying the trams were large and costly undertakings; but already the South London Municipal Tramways were proving an object lesson to the community. A sale of fifty million halfpenny tickets, with raised wages, improved conditions, reduced hours, and one day off in the seven for the employees, had been accompanied by increased profits.

Election Results.

COUNTY COUNCILS.

Place.	Candidate.	Result.	Votes.
London ...	... Frank Smith...	... Re-elected	2021
" ...	... Robert Williams	... Gain	1677
" ...	... J. E. Matthews	... Loss	1024

ELECTIVE AUDITORS.

Blackburn ...	... Wolstenholme	... Gain	1046
Liverpool ...	... Morrissey	... Gain	363
Rochdale ...	... Thompson	... Re-elected	1035

SCHOOL BOARDS.

Oswestry ...	... T. H. Hignett	... Re-elected	Unop.
West Bromwich ...	... H. Brockhouse	... Re-elected	Unop.

Jottings.

By JOHN PENNY, General Secretary.

AFFILIATION FEES.—As will be seen from page 8, the fees paid in February amounted to £45 2s. This is the largest amount we have received in one month for the last two years, and, in fact, has only twice been exceeded since the formation of the Party. These two occasions were February, 1899 (£50 1s. 3d.), and January, 1898 (£47 13s. 6d.) It will also be noticed that the amount this month is not made up by any specially large subscriptions from any particular branch, but is composed of a large number of comparatively small payments from a large number of branches, which is a decidedly healthier state of affairs. It is to be regretted, however, that the fees for the whole year show a decrease of over £40 as compared with last year. This is due to the laxity of many of the branches during the first few months. Last quarter has been one of the best we have ever had. Judging by the spirit and enthusiasm which is now being put into the work in all parts of the country, as evidenced by the reports I am receiving, the year upon which we have just entered is going to be a very prosperous one. New branches are being opened every week and old ones are bestirring themselves to some purpose. The apathy and indifference of the last three years has passed away.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE.—I cannot too strongly impress upon branches the necessity for us to have a good Conference at Leicester on Easter Monday and Tuesday. Every branch which has qualified must make a special effort to send one or more delegates, and the little branches should arrange with others in the vicinity to send one jointly. A well attended, rousing Conference will have a wonderfully stimulating effect upon the whole Party for the next twelve months, and must be obtained at any cost.

In last month's *News* I gave particulars as to qualification for the Conference and the fees to be paid. Consequently, there is no need to state them here.

ELECTED PERSONS CONFERENCE.—A number of interesting papers have been promised for this Conference, and it is satisfactory to note that the ladies will be well represented. Among others who have promised to read papers are Mrs. M. Bridges Adams (London School Board), Miss McMillan, Mrs. Despard, Alderman F. Knee, F. G. Gould, etc., etc. It is hoped that there will be a large attendance, as the Conference will be valuable and will be well reported.

LIVERPOOL.—I am glad to be able to congratulate our Liverpool comrades upon their first victory at the polls. Comrade Morrissey was put forward for the Elective Auditorship by the Liverpool Workers' Municipal Committee, and won the post with a small majority over his opponent. Our new representative may be trusted to do credit to his backers.

LONDON.—The splendid victories of Frank Smith and Robert Williams at the London County Council election on Saturday, March 2nd, should do much to bring the Party into prominence in the great city where it has so long been practically impotent. Our members ran with the Progressives on a strong collectivist programme, with the understanding that inside the Council they were to have perfectly free hands. The Progressive triumph at the recent election is a triumph for Collectivism, because all the candidates won on municipal trams, water, and housing, while the taxation of land values played no insignificant part. Many of the programmes, in fact, would have done credit to the most out and out I.L.P. or S.D.F. candidates in the provinces.

Correspondence.

THE S.D.F. AND THE SCOTTISH WORKERS' CONGRESS.

To the Editor of the *I.L.P. News*.

Dear Sir,—In the February number of the *I.L.P. News* appeared a short notice of the Scottish Workers' Congress, which I am sure calls for some comment—at least I consider it does from me as an S.D.F. representative on the E.C. appointed by the above Congress. The report, while emphasising certain facts, says "it is only right to add that no sectional interests are voiced on the Committee." Now, if this merely means that the S.D.F. is willing to give a fair and free trial to an honest experiment or attempt to build up a more or less class-conscious political party amongst the workers, then the statement is true. But if it means that there has been, is, or will be any abandonment of the true Socialist contention that it is hopeless to expect any permanent good to result from mere reform, however far-reaching, within the limits of Capitalist society, then the statement is emphatically not true. In these times it is as well to be clear on all such matters, and I therefore trust you will give this explanation all the publicity which the statement that called it forth has received.

Yours fraternally,

JOHN LESLIE.

80, Abbey Hill, Edinburgh.

[We hope the statement in our report referred to, that "no sectional interests are voiced on the committee," remains true, notwithstanding the above rather superfluous "explanation." The committee exists for a definite purpose, concerning which all sections are supposed to be united. We refer to the I.L.P. position elsewhere, under the heading of "I.L.P. and Trades Union Alliance."—Ed. *I.L.P. News*.]

New Fabian Tracts.

No. 96. *Municipal Fire Insurance*; No. 97. *Municipal Steamboats*.

These two leaflets are most useful additions to the admirable series of municipal tracts issued by the Fabian Society. They contain quite a wealth of facts and suggestions in favour of the municipalisation of the respective undertakings of Fire Insurance and Steamboats, and should be widely circulated by every branch of the I.L.P. Numerous references are given to what has already been done experimentally in various towns. The case for municipalisation is indeed stated in terms that are irresistibly convincing, and we cannot conceive of anyone reading either of those leaflets without realising how complete is the argument for practical Socialism. Here is the summary given for Municipal Fire Insurance, for example, for London:—The insurable value of the buildings of London being estimated at £240,000,000, the total of insurance premiums, at an average rate of 1s. 6d. per cent per annum, less £35 per million contributed by the companies to the Fire Brigade, amounts to £171,600. At the net Berlin rate, 6.3d. per cent, the cost would be £63,000. The difference, £108,600 per annum, is the cost to London citizens of its perverse individualism. The logical German method of compulsory municipal insurance appears in fact to be simply compulsory common sense.

CITY BRANCH PAMPHLETS.

- No. 1.—**The Independent Labour Party: What it is, and where it stands.** One Penny.
- No. 2.—**Labour Laws for Women: Their reason and their results (3rd Edition).** One Penny.
- No. 3.—**Imperialism: Its meaning and its tendency.** One Penny.
- No. 4.—**Commercialism and Child Labour: An indictment and some remedies.** One Penny.
- No. 5.—**William Morris.** By J. W. MACKAIL, Author of the *Life of William Morris*. (Ready shortly.) Twopence.

Crammed with facts; useful for propaganda; invaluable to students.

I.L.P. Office, 53, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

MONTHLY REPORT FROM HEAD OFFICE.

FEBRUARY, 1901.

115 Branches paid Fees in February.

37 " sent reports without fees.
6 " pay fees quarterly.
43 " sent neither fees nor reports.

The income of the Head Office during February was :—

Affiliation Fees	...	...	£45	2	0
Election Fund	...	...	10	7	6
Sales	...	...	16	12	8½
National Branch	...	...	0	15	0
Sundries	...	...	2	0	0
			£74	17	2½

NEW BRANCHES.

GRIMSBY.—Secretary, H. Bradley, 18, Legsby Street, Grimsby.

NORTH SALFORD.—Secretary, Thos. Barlass, Pankhurst Hall, St. James' Road, Hightown, Salford.

NEW SECRETARIES.

ECCLES.—W. Wadham, 19, Vicarage Terrace, Eccles.

NOTTINGHAM.—W. Johnson, 13, Goodall Street, Nottingham.

RUTHERGLEN.—John Robertson, 31, Castle Street, Rutherglen.

The Branch Report Sheet for March must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

CONSTITUTION.—Copies of the Constitution of the Party may be obtained from Head Office, price Fourpence per dozen, post free. Pence Cards are supplied at the same price. Samples on application.

NATIONAL BRANCH.—The National Branch of the I.L.P. is open to Socialists who endorse the objects and methods of the Party, but who are unable, through geographical or other difficulties, to join a local Branch. Members of the National Branch receive copies of all the official publications of the Party. Subscriptions for the year 1901 are now due, and should be sent to the Head Office. The amount of subscription is left to the discretion of the member.

OUR ELECTED PERSONS.—We are at all times glad to hear what our members on public bodies are doing. If comrades will supply us with reports or marked copies of newspapers containing records of their work, we shall be very greatly obliged.

UNATTACHED SYMPATHISERS.—Branches are recommended to prepare lists of known sympathisers in their districts. Such people should be asked to subscribe to the funds of the Party if they cannot see their way to become members. A printed form of invitation may be obtained from the Head Office, price 1s. 6d. per 100, post free.

Branch Fees and Reports.

The following Branches paid Fees in February :—

Annfield Plain 3s., Arbroath 2s. 6d., Ashton-under-Lyne £1 5s., Aston 4s., Ayr 1s. 5d., Ayrshire Central 5s., Barnsley 4s. 6d., Birkenhead 8s., Birmingham C. 1s., Birmingham W. 3s., Blackburn 6s. 3d., Bootle 2s. 1d., Bolton 15s., Bradford £5, Brechin 1s. 6d., Bridgeton 3s., Brighouse £1 6s., Bromley 1s. 7d., Camlachie 5s.,

Cardiff 3s., Carnoustie 7d., Cheltenham 1s., Chester 3s. 6d., Clapham 3s. 6d., Cleckheaton 6s., College 12s. 6d., Colne Valley £3 0s. 3d., Consett 2s. 6d., Cowling 2s., Crewe £2 1s. 8d., Crosskeys 1s., Darlington 2s. 6d., Darwen £3 15s., Derby 10s., Dowlais 1s. 8d., Dudley 4s. 2d., East Ham 1s. 4d., Edinburgh 15s. 10d., Failsworth 2s. 6d., Farnworth 5s., Farsley 3s. 6d., Finsbury 2s. 6d., Fulham 8s. 10d., Gillingham 1s. 2d., Glasgow City 6s. 3d., Glossop 3s., South Gloucestershire 2s. 6d., Hartlepool 1s., Hexham paid, Holbeck 1s. 2d., Hollinwood 6s., Horwich 2s. 6d., Hull 6s. 2d., Inverness 2s. 1d., Keighley 10s., Kensington N. 1s. 6d., Leeds C. 6s. 3d., Leicester £1 10s., Lesmahagow 1s., Littleborough 2s. 6d., Liverpool 10s., London City 5s., Longwood 6s. 9d., Lye 2s., Merthyr Vale, 6d., Middlesbrough paid, Milnsbridge paid, Mossley 11s. 3d., Motherwell 1s. 8d., Musselburgh 10s., Nelson 18s., Newcastle 15s., New Marske 1s. 6d., Norwich 7s. 6d., Nottingham 2s., Oldham S. S. 2s., Paisley 8s. 4d., Pendlebury 4s. 6d., Penydarren 5s., Portsmouth 15s., Preston 5s., Rishton 2s. 8d., Rotherham 4s., Rothwell 16s., Rutherglen 6s., St Helens 5s., St. Rollox 4s. 2d., Salford N. 2s. 6d., Salford W. 3s. 4d., Shildon 3s. 4d., Shrewsbury 10s., Southampton £1 5s., South Shields 2s. 6d., Sowerby 3s. 2d., Spen Colliery 2s. 6d., Spen Valley 1s. 2d., Stockport 12s., Stockton, 8s. 4d., Sutton-in-Ashfield 7d., Thornaby 3s., Thornhill Lees 8s. 4d., Townhill 3s., Tradeston 7s. 6d., Warrington 3s. 6d., Wednesbury 1s. 2d., Wellington, 6d., West Bromwich 11s. 6d., West Ham N. 2s. 6d., West Ham S. 16s., Wolverhampton 2s. 6d., Woolwich 3s., Workington 6s. 8d., Yeadon 1s. 8d., York 13s., Ystalfera 1s. (115)

The following Branches sent Reports without Fees :—

Abertillery, Armley, Attercliffe, Barrow, Berkeley, Bury, Chalford, Chesterfield, Clydebank, Eccles, Felling, Gloucester, Grantham, Grimsby, Hackney, Halifax, Kettering, Kilmarnock, Langley Mill, Leeds N., Leith, Manchester, Mexborough, Montrose, Openshaw, Pontypridd, Pudsey, Ripley, Rochdale, St. Pancras, Spennymoor, Stalybridge, Sunderland, Tottenham, Tyldesley, Vale of Leven, Walsall. (37)

The following Branches pay Fees Quarterly :—

Gateshead, Hawick, Huddersfield, Long Eaton, Stewarton, Werneth. (6)

The following Branches sent neither Reports nor Fees :—

Ashford, Bath, Bedlinog, Bermondsey, Blantyre, Burslem, Cirencester, Cowdenbeath, Crook, Crosshills, Doncaster, Dumfries, Dundee, Earlestown, Elland, Govan, Greenwich, Halton, Heckmondwike, E. Hunslet, Hutchesontown, Hyde, Kirriemuir, Lancaster, Larkhall, Limehouse, Macclesfield, Maescwmmmer, Mansfield, Middleton, Newport, Normanton, Oakengates, Oakworth, Oldham Central, Ossett, Otley, Partick, Peckham, Stroud, Walkden, Wishaw, Yarmouth. (43)

OTHER CASH RECEIVED IN FEBRUARY.

Sales.—Tradeston 3s. 6d., Norwich 12s. 4d., Bradford E. Ward £1 5s. 8d., W. Hunter 14s. 10d., South Glos. 3s., London City 3s. 1d., John Heywood £1 13s. 2d., Derby 2s., Brighouse 4s. 8d., S. West Ham 10½d., Huddersfield 6s. 8d., Felling 1s. 4½d., Glasgow 4d., Stockton 7s., F. Rogers 10s., Workington 1s. 9d., Gillingham 10½d., Rochdale 12s., Consett 10½d., Manningham 2s. 7½d., Darlington 1s. 2½d., Bromley 11d., Arbroath 1s. 3½d., Middlesbrough 10½d., West Bromwich 10s., Bradford E. 4s. 8d., W. Birmingham 3s. 6d., Long Eaton 4d., Farsley 2d., Edinburgh 5d., Paisley 3s. 9d., Preston 8s. 3d., Motherwell 10½d., Rotherham 10s. 5½d., Hull 1s. 9d., Slaithwaite 3s. 6d., Stockton 1s. 9½d., South Shields 2s. 10½d., Walsall, 3d., Dowlais 1s. 9d., Sowerby 3s. 1d., Shrewsbury 10½d., Mrs. MacDonald 5s. 5½d., Women's Industrial Council 2s. 3d., Newcastle 13s. 3d., Bradford Moor 6s. 5d., Rutherglen 3s. 9d., Gateshead 7s. 8½d., Darwen 1s. 6d., Penydarren 1s., Inverness 6s. 9d., Openshaw 6s., Derby 1s. 3d., Bellais 2s. 1d., Tottenham 10½d., Cash Sales £3 3s. 3d. Total £16 12s. 8½d.

National Branch.—T. H. Hignett 10s., A. Sparling 2s. 6d., J. Sparling 2s. 6d. Total 15s.

Sundries.—F. M. £2.

JOHN PENNY, Gen Sec.

inviolable the name of our native land. Well, we venture to assert that the increased number of Labour representatives on public bodies of this country is not altogether due to the I.L.P. The movement had its inception long before the I.L.P. was thought of, and the working-classes had their representatives on the various popularly-elected bodies in Leicester and other towns before Mr. Keir Hardie had emerged from his obscurity. As for the war, Liberals have protested against it as much as the I.L.P., and in addition have done more in Parliament than it was ever possible for the I.L.P. to do, in helping to restrain the barbarities of the war, in making imperative a searching inquiry into the administration of martial law in Cape Colony, and in helping to make inevitable the restoration of self-government to the Boers. We deplore the results of the war as much as Mr. Bruce Glasier, agree with much that he says in regard thereto, and are glad to see signs of recovery from the national dementia which has afflicted us, and which was so rampant at the time of the general election. But were the I.L.P.'s the only individuals who were dubbed traitors and Little Englanders, because of the opinions they then gave expression to about the war? Mr. Bruce Glasier knows as well as any man what villification and misrepresentation Liberals had to face, but that in spite of it all they stuck tenaciously to their principles. They came out of the conflict creditably anyhow, so that they could hardly have entered upon it in the hopeless state of disunion and collapse which Mr. Bruce Glasier imagines. They certainly did not lose nine out of every ten of their men."

GLASGOW EVENING NEWS.

"When Mr. Keir Hardie is in Parliament the Independent Labour Party enjoys a brief bask in the sunshine to compensate it for the longer periods of enforced seclusion in the shade to which it is doomed. At its annual conference yesterday, the Party was in fairly good spirits, despite the fact that its finances are in a rather depressing condition. The report stated that the Party had attained a position of considerable importance, and suggested that all that was needed was more money to set it upon a lofty pinnacle and constitute it a great power in the land. If the I. L. Peers care to invest their money with the view to a possible rise in I. L. Peerism that is their business. An impartial observer of the political market would not, we think, be inclined to open a big 'bull' account on the present prospects."

THE SPEAKER.

"Mr. Keir Hardie is probably right in supposing that the increase of taxation will cause violent discontent, which will again assist and reinforce the Socialist party. He is probably also right in thinking that the military scheme of Mr. Brodrick is intended to lead to conscription. Is he also right in tracing the feebleness of the opposition to capitalist influence? Are financial Imperialism and Liberal Imperialism the same? We have many and acute differences with the Independent Labour Party, but we are the first to recognise that they are making a manly stand for the most sacred principles of Liberalism in their resistance to Imperialism, conscription, and all the abominable tyrannies that follow in their train."

THE INVESTOR'S REVIEW.

"The disposition of the so called Labour classes to take a stronger, more intelligent, and broader interest in current politics is becoming more pronounced. Witness the proceedings of the Conference of the Independent Labour Party held this Eastertide in Leicester. Did the delegates occupy themselves exclusively with socialist programmes and dreams? Nothing of the kind. They discussed practical politics from the Imperial standpoint in a spirit of enlarged intelligence unknown to such a body even ten years ago. Witness the following which Mr. Keir Hardie proposed in a speech far above the average platform harangue both in knowledge and in temper. [Here follows the resolution instructing the N.A.C. to promote Conferences against the war]. This attitude is what the Liberal Party should have held from the first, and its adoption by the working class socialists may portend many things, an organised resistance to the imposition of new taxes upon the poor among them, etc."

Programmes, Principles, and Parties.

A wise man owning a steam pump perfectly capable of raising 1,000 gallons an hour, but habitually raising less than 100, would not seek a remedy by inventing a

new pump capable of raising 2,000 gallons. He would make some enquiries about the working of the old pump—enquiries which would probably end in sacking the engineer.

Our present Parliamentary machinery is quite capable—in honest hands—of pouring forth a flood of beneficial measures. Of what avail, then, to draft New Democratic Programmes to increase the machine's capacity so long as the old engineers are left to take alternate control?

Would Payment of Members, Extension of the Franchise, and the like, lighten the load of a single toiler, or brighten the interior of a single home? Would it empty our workhouses, hospitals, or gaols? Would our slums fade before it, or would it divert the black shadow of 'Bad Trade?' I can understand those who, clad in piety and broadcloth, believe that low wages, long hours, and overcrowded hovels are inevitable (for other people), but I cannot understand those who think about such evils and yet seriously believe that Payment of Members will cure them. We refuse to spend ten years in achieving a Programme of 'Democratic Reforms' only to find ourselves just where we now are,—with a good machine and bad engineers. What avails Payment of Members if the members who draw the pay are Balfour, Chamberlain, Asquith, Joicey?

Is it not a mockery to talk of Extension of the Suffrage when the majority of the constituencies in our great centres, London, Liverpool, Birmingham, deliberately disenfranchised themselves at the last election, allowing a group of rich Liberals and Conservatives to agree that there should be no contests? Even a measure like Taxation of Land Values would prove futile if left to a Liberal or Tory Government to spend the money so raised. Of the money raised by Sir William Harcourt's great Death Duties Reform not one farthing has gone to benefit the country.

The people are favourable enough to Democratic reforms. More, they are in favour of many social and economic reforms. Upon a Referendum, National Railways and National Land would be carried, probably by great majorities.

No; what the people now want is definite *Principles* and a *Party* to embody those principles—a Party independent of wire-pulling from rich London Clubs; a Party independent of the fear or favour of local capitalists and landlords; a Party whose funds are not raised by corruptly selling public honours and titles to rich brewers, slum property owners, and company promoters.

Such a Party has already a nucleus in every important centre. In the great mining districts of South Wales that Party secured one seat and came very near to another. In the heart of industrial Yorkshire it lost a seat by but 41 votes. In Gorton and Blackburn it hit Toryism hard, and evoked such enthusiasm as has never before been seen there. In Halifax and Leicester it destroyed once and for all the dominance of capitalist Liberalism and made the first important step towards securing one seat in those double-membered constituencies.

It is not Programmes and Leagues and intrigues that are wanted, but Principles and a Party. The principles of Socialism are what will yet save this country. To preach those principles and to secure their application the Independent Labour Party exists.

S. D. SHALLARD.

Independent Labour Party.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

All inquiries with respect to the I.L.P. should be addressed to the above office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming branches are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

I.L.P. PUBLICATIONS.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Large Poster 65in. by 45in. Deals with the aims and position of the Party. Clearly printed, and easily read. Price, 3s. per doz.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Small Poster. Suitable for window display, size 17½in. by 22½in. Price, 9d. per doz.

Members' Pence Cards.—4d. per doz., post free.

Rules.—To insert in Pence Cards (with rubber bands), 4d. per doz.

I.L.P. News.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

Subscription Rates: One year. 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month, 1½d. Post free. For advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News," Fleet Street, E.C.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, E.C.

No. 49.

APRIL, 1901.

The Conference and the I.L.P. Revival.

The Ninth Annual Conference of the I.L.P. has been held, and has borne ample testimony, not only to the spirit of revival within the Party itself, but also to the greatly increased interest in the movement taken by the public. Reports, many of them of considerable length, have appeared in the leading provincial and metropolitan press, and almost every paper in the country has ventured some comment or another upon the proceedings.

The Conference, indeed, was a signal demonstration alike of the truth of the statement contained in the Council's report, "that the I.L.P. is definitely accepted by the public as an established division of the political forces of the nation," and of the Chairman's statement "that the Party is now confident that it bears within it the acceptable message of socialism to the British democracy." At no previous gathering of the Party since the Manchester Conference in 1894—and that was a period when the I.L.P. was growing by leaps and bounds—have the proceedings been characterised by so hopeful a spirit, or have the delegates brought away with them a more encouraging recollection of their reunion. Perhaps we cannot better summarise the character of the Conference than by saying that it was the most distinctively I.L.P. of all the conferences which the Party has yet held. By that we mean that the Conference was representative in a higher degree than any former gathering has been of the socialism, the political attitude, and the men and women which the name Independent Labour Party defines. On previous occasions a dissentient element arising from that formative and undecided stage of opinion, through which all movements must pass, more or less exhibited itself. This element has been gradually disappearing. At last year's conference there was only a faint trace of it, and this year there was none at all. Of those who composed this element—if we can speak of an

element being a composition—the majority have become unfalteringly attached to our principles, and the rest have drifted into other bodies. The loss of those who have diverged completely away from our organisation—though regrettable in many ways—constitutes, in reality, not a lessening but an increase in the strength and efficiency of the I.L.P.

From the opening speech of the Chairman until the last motion on the agenda paper was disposed of, exactly as the hand of the clock pointed to five on Tuesday afternoon, this strength and efficiency of the Party was seen in the proceedings of the gathering. Not in a single instance, so far as we recollect, was a speech delivered that was calculated to bring reproach upon the name of socialism or the membership of the Party. There were no noisy "scenes," no clanging of the chairman's bell. There was, on the other hand, an admirable freedom and wealth of discussion and a vast amount of business done.

The voice of the detractor is, however, never hushed. We doubt not but the very harmony and decisiveness of the Conference will provoke criticism in certain quarters. It does not matter. Unanimity and good order, we may be told, are not always indications of vitality within a party. No, indeed; but neither are dissension and disorder. It all depends upon whether the unity and unanimity are products of health or of decay. We can safely leave the question of whether or not the I.L.P. is in a state of health or decay to those who were present at the Conference, and to those who know the condition of the I.L.P. in the country. We may perhaps suggest that were dissensions and recrimination signs of political vigour and earnest purpose, the Liberal Party ought at this moment to be in the zenith of power, while the newly united Irish Party ought to be the most feeble, instead of being, as it indisputably is, the most energetic party in parliament.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the proceedings was the large amount of time devoted to the discussion of important national affairs. This is a sure indication that the Party recognises that it has now become a national force. Its pronouncements upon the South African War, Militarism and Conscription, the Housing and Education Questions, the Penrhyn Dispute, the Russian Massacres, and the China Invasion, have all been widely commented upon by the press. What a distance this takes us from the long, profitless wrangles upon Fusion, the Fourth Clause, the Abolition of the Chairmanship, and the proposals for changing the name of the Party, that absorbed the time and exhausted the energies of our conferences in former years!

An important innovation, and one which, as he himself said, will in future prove one of the most interesting features of the Conference, was introduced by J. Keir Hardie, in the shape of an I.L.P. Parliamentary Representative Report. The report itself, together with the questions and discussions upon it, inaugurates a precedent which will be of immense importance in enabling the Party, as its parliamentary representation grows, to publicly approve or disavow the action of its national representatives. The innovation, indeed, invests the Annual Conference with a new importance alike to the branches and the public.

It is regrettable that the lack of time prevented the delegates devoting adequate discussion to the question of finance and organisation. This, we fear, must always

happen so long as only two days are set apart for the national Conference of the Party. It was, however, not want of time but positive disinclination that caused the meeting to pass lightly over a number of proposals that have been thrashed out inside and outside the Conference during the past seven years. The only changes affecting the constitution of the Party which the Conference sanctioned were the abolition of the pooling of delegates' fares, and an alteration in the basis of branch representation at the Conference.

An abridged report of the Conference proceedings is given in the present number of the *I.L.P. News*, and the complete official report will, it is hoped, be ready in the course of a fortnight or so. We may state that an exceedingly full report of the Elected Persons' Conference and of the I.L.P. Conference appeared in the issues of the *Leicester Daily Post* for April 6th, 8th, 9th, and 10th. Very good reports of the Conference also appeared in *Daily News*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Leeds Mercury*, and the leading provincial papers. The *Labour Leader* for April 13th gives a verbatim report of the leading portions of the Chairman's address, and a well-informed descriptive account of the Conference meetings.

Elsewhere we print a series of extracts from the press comments upon the Annual Conference. "To see ourselves as others see us" is often an instructive as well as an entertaining occupation, and these extracts, taken at random from a bewildering pile before us, should be carefully perused by our readers. They should help also to convince those among our members who are unfortunately indifferent to the Annual Conference of the immense importance of the Conference as a means of giving national expression to the opinions of the Party, and of arousing national interest in our movement.

Encouraged by the indications of public interest in Socialist politics and by the revival spirit within the Party which the Conference displayed, the N.A.C. has resolved to at once embark upon the mission projected in its new national propaganda scheme. The place selected for its inaugural mission is Preston, where a five-days' series of demonstrations will be held. A guarantee of £45 from the new fund will be given towards the expenses of the undertaking which will be carried on under the personal supervision of the General Secretary. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., J. Bruce Glasier, Mrs. Bruce Glasier, Mrs. Pankhurst, George Barnes, Philip Snowden, John Hodge, J. R. Macdonald, Fred Brocklehurst, S. D. Shallard, Councillor Parker and others will, it is expected, take part in the meetings.

We offer our hearty congratulations to the members of the Clarion Fellowship on their most enjoyable and in every way successful meet at Bakewell. The gathering is a remarkable testimony to the personal sympathy and comradeship which the *Clarion* has created among its readers. That this feeling should be associated as it is with a deep interest in Socialism, and in the intellectual and physical culture of the nation, is one of the cheering signs of our times.

A better testimony than even the Fellowship gathering itself to "the human spirit" of which we have just spoken is afforded by the splendid fund which the *Clarion* readers have, in response to A. M. Thompson's appeal, raised for the families of the locked-out Penrhyn quarrymen. The articles in which our comrade has laid bare the oppression of landlord-capitalism in that beautiful but afflicted part of our land reveal in a very lurid light the tragedy of toil, which is still the counterpart of the masque of freedom and wealth in these isles.

On the first Saturday in May the two *Clarion* vans go forth upon their summer propaganda tours. The English van, manned by Councillor E. R. Hartley, will start its campaign at Darlington, and will thence proceed, town by town, to harrow the political soil of County Durham and the Cleveland district. The new Scottish van, under the charge of Willie Wright, will set forth upon its wanderings at Hawick, and after ranging the land of Sir Walter Scott, will break once more into the land of Burns. We are glad to note that the N.A.C. has passed a resolution thanking the *Clarion* and Julia Dawson for their excellent enterprise in promoting this most important means of Socialist propaganda.

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., has obtained the second place in the ballot for Tuesday night, the 23rd instant, and will move the following motion:

"That, considering the increasing burden which private ownership of land and capital is imposing upon the industrious and useful classes of the community, the poverty and destitution and general moral and physical deterioration resulting from a competitive system of wealth-production which aims primarily at profit making, the alarming growth of trust and syndicates, able by reason of their great wealth to influence Governments and plunge peaceful nations into war to serve their interests, this House is of opinion that such a condition of affairs constitutes a menace to the well-being of the realm, and calls for legislation designed to remedy the same by inaugurating a Socialist Commonwealth founded upon the common ownership of land and capital, production for use and not for profit, and equality of opportunity for every citizen."

This will be the first occasion on which a direct Socialist resolution has been submitted to the British House of Commons.

Notable Quotations.

"Good work, not sham work; good art, not bad art; good food and good beer, not the bad bread and bad beer that disgrace this country; plain, good clothes, not fashionably cut shoddy; good news, not party lies and foolish flattery and idle or malicious gossip; real information (which need not be cheap and cannot be easy, for knowledge is not an easy thing to get), not chopped up rubbish; as much fresh air and clean water, and out-of-door exercise as we can do with. These are things within our grasp, yet we have not got them."—PROFESSOR YORKE POWELL, 1901.

"You can get assent to almost any proposition so long as you are not going to do anything about it."—J. J. CHAPMAN.

"I confess to you that I am so parochially minded that I look with greater satisfaction to our acquisition of the gas and water, to our scientific frontiers in the improvement area, than I do to the results of that Imperial policy which has given us Cyprus and the Transvaal."—J. CHAMBERLAIN, in 1880.

"Lack of imagination makes people fail to see the evils that are; makes them fail to realise the good that might be."—GRANT ALLEN.

I.L.P. Conference at Leicester.

On Easter Monday and Tuesday the Ninth Annual Conference of delegates of the Independent Labour Party met at the Cook Memorial Hall, Leicester. The delegates numbered about seventy-six. Mr. J. Bruce Glasier, Chairman of the Party, presided.

The Chairman, in his opening address, said that he thought they might survey the future with confidence. A year ago the war was a cause for anxiety. It was impossible not to have some misgiving in view of the symptoms of national dementia then prevalent, and with the ordeal fire of a General Election flaring up before them; but all their doubts had been dispelled, and it was with no common pleasure he was able to announce that the party was in the best of health and spirits, and was already looking forward with great expectations to another General Election. The party was only eight years old, and he predicted that their party, which had been able to think for itself, work for itself, and fight for itself from the first hour of its birth, was destined to prove the triumphant power in modern democracy. Already the country was beginning to realise what devastation the Government had wrought during the past few years. It had uprooted our national honour; it had withered our military fame; it had thrown away the lives of some 15,000 soldiers, and had cast back 20,000 crippled into our workshops and workhouses. The Government had also thrown away 200 millions of money, and by the increased burden of taxation had seriously affected the commercial powers of the nation. It had thrown away our reputation for fair play and for the love of freedom. In concluding, the Chairman had a few words to say on the Socialism in which they believed as a party, remarking that much emphasis was being placed by certain friends of theirs upon what was termed "the class war." Some of them would even seek, he understood, to make the constant declaration of it a kind of Athanasian Creed, disavowal of which would entail excommunication from the Socialist fellowship with bell and book.—(Laughter.) Socialism, he declared, required not only that land and capital should be socialised, but that all the means of life should be socialised—science, art, health, leisure, and human sympathy. It sought to establish a commonweal in which all should give freely of the services of their hands, their minds, and their hearts. Socialism in truth consisted not in war, but in fellowship, not in taking, but in giving.

THE YEAR'S RECORD: ELECTORAL CONTESTS.

The National Administrative Council in their report, which was submitted, stated that they had to present what was on the whole a gratifying record of progress under difficult and trying circumstances, and it proved that the party had attained a position of considerable political importance. When, however, they saw the extent of the work to be taken up, and how many openings there were for the profitable expenditure of labour and money, they were made painfully aware of the paucity of their resources. They felt that the time had come for the party to make a supreme effort in aiding and financing the Council, in order that work of such magnitude might be undertaken during the next year or two as would make the I.L.P. "the most potent influence in the cause of industrial emancipation." The Council added that the treatment meted out to those who sought to conduct a movement in the interests of peace would for ever remain as a blot upon our political history. Allusion was also made to the electoral contests for Parliamentary seats in which the party took a share at Ashton-under-Lyne, Blackburn, West Bradford, Glasgow, Halifax, Leicester, South West Manchester, Merthyr Tydvil, Preston, and Rochdale. Mr. Keir Hardie's success at Merthyr and that of Mr. Bell at Derby were referred to with satisfaction, and the excellent fight made by other candidates was acknowledged. A Special Election Fund Committee had issued an appeal for not less than £1,000, and in a few days the required sum was more than subscribed, while the total receipts had amounted to £1,888. In accordance with a resolution of last Conference the party was duly affiliated with the Labour Representation Committee. The Committee had secured the affiliation of 41 trade unions with a membership of 353,070, seven trade councils with a membership of 112,000, and three Socialist organisations with a membership of 22,861. In municipal, school board, and other local elections the votes received by the 134 candidates of the party numbered 286,676. It was noteworthy that in 1899 when they had 103 more candidates, the total number of votes received was only 178,827. At a Council meeting held in Manchester in November a resolution was passed in favour of establishing a campaign fund of £1,000 per annum. The resolution

had been extensively circulated among sympathisers, and the response already obtained justified their Council in believing that the sum required would be raised.

Several delegates criticised certain points in the report, which was considered in detail. It was explained with regard to a vote in aid of a candidate at the Gorton election, that he was a member of the I.L.P., though not in the usual sense a candidate of the party. He was adopted by the local Trades Council, which held itself responsible for his candidature. Some debate arose on the subject of whether such prominent acknowledgment as that in the report should be made. In answering a delegate on the subject of contributions by the party to the Parliamentary expenses of candidates who were not members of their own party, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., said that he hoped this would tend to a better understanding between trade unionists and themselves.

MAINTENANCE OF LABOUR MEMBERS.

Mr. S. G. Hobson (London) raised the question of the maintenance of Labour members in Parliament, with regard to which he had an addition to the report to suggest. He urged that in this matter equal consideration should be given to every such member without regard to his special views, the sole tests being that he was a Labour or Socialist representative who needed maintaining in part or wholly. He suggested that a satisfactory income would be £200. They did not want a sectional fund so much as they wanted to see the union of the forces of the I.L.P. the S.D.F., and trade unionists for the purpose of getting a big fund. He contended the time was opportune, and proposed as an amendment that the N.A.C., subject to the instructions of the Conference, would instruct its delegates to support in the future that or any other suitable scheme for the adequate maintenance of Labour members.

Mr. Fraser, West Salford, seconded the amendment.

Mr. J. R. Macdonald said that the Labour Representation Committee had had its eye on the subject, and had been ready to move as soon as the time arrived. The Committee had, however, thought that in the present stage of the combination of Labour organisation it would be a profound mistake to give a handle to those who were against the Labour representation movement. He asked them not to force the hands of the Committee.

The amendment was rejected in the voting, and the resolution in the report of the N.A.C. was allowed to stand.

Shortly afterwards the report as a whole was submitted and unanimously adopted.

THE FINANCES OF THE PARTY.

The general balance-sheet submitted by the N.A.C. showed that the income had been £664, and the expenditure had left a deficit of £57.—Mr. John Penny, the General Secretary, directed attention to the fact that their total liabilities were £394. Their assets were £84, and the actual financial position of the party was that they were £300 to the bad. He intimated, however, later on, that in addition to these assets a sum of £150 had yet to come in to the election fund. The Conference passed a resolution expressing regret at the retirement of Mr. France Littlewood, the Treasurer.

On the motion of Mr. Morley, York, seconded by Mrs. Pankhurst, Manchester, and supported by Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., and others, it was decided to ask the branches to make contributions for wiping out the adverse balance within the next three months. Mr. Keir Hardie said that the income of the party for March last had been considerably more than in March of last year, and they were looking forward with great hope to the result of their educational campaign.

NATIONAL AGITATION AGAINST THE WAR.

Mr. W. Lloyd (West Birmingham) moved—"That this Conference deplores the action of the Government in prolonging the war—a war which is ruinous, morally and financially, to the masses of the people and is retarding the advance of reform at home." He said that the resolution came from the branch of the party in the stronghold of "the great Joseph." He was sure the Conference were fully agreed as to the sentiments expressed in the resolution and simply moved its adoption.

Mr. T. Cooke (Manchester) seconded the resolution, which was at once put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., on behalf of St Pancras, moved—"That the N.A.C. do call conferences as soon as possible of all organisations and representative men and women known to be opposed to this unjust war in order that a national agitation may be inaugurated to compel the Government to offer such terms of peace that would be acceptable to a brave and self-respecting people."

Meeting of N.A.C.

At a meeting of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party, held at 53, Fleet Street, London, on Monday and Tuesday, June 17th and 18th, 1901.

Present: J. Bruce Glasier (in the chair), Philip Snowden, F. W. Jowett, Jas. Parker, J. R. Macdonald, J. Keir Hardie, S. D. Shallard, and John Penny.

BALANCE SHEET. The Secretary presented an interim balance sheet for the three months ending May 31st, showing that the income had exceeded expenditure by £66 2s. 5½d. There was, however, a bill of at least £20 for Conference printing to come against this surplus. The financial statement was accepted.

DEBT CLEARANCE FUND. The committee reported that up to the present about £14 had been received from the branches. Judging by the letters received, however, there were considerable sums now in the hands of the branches for the fund, and the total would probably be a handsome one.

GORTON LOAN. The Chairman reported that he and the Treasurer had attended a meeting of the Gorton Trades Council, and that a scheme for getting up a large Bazaar and Industrial Exhibition had been approved.

EDUCATION CONFERENCE. J. R. Macdonald reported that J. F. Green, John Penny, and he had attended the Conference on June 6th as delegates from the I.L.P. There were about 1,200 persons present, and it was a thoroughly representative conference. The resolutions were in accord with the resolutions passed at the I.L.P. Conference.

LEAFLETS. It was agreed that the General Secretary's scheme for issuing a weekly leaflet should be proceeded with.

PUBLIC HOUSES TRUST. The Secretary stated that he had been asked to allow his name to be used as a supporter of the Trust, and asked whether the N.A.C. approved his doing so. It was decided that the N.A.C. was not in favour of the Trust.

TRADES CONGRESS. It was agreed that arrangements should be made for a public meeting to be held in Swansea during Trades Congress week.

PARLIAMENTARY SITUATION. Keir Hardie reported briefly on the Parliamentary situation. He advised the Council to be prepared for an early dissolution of Parliament. No further progress had been made in calling a meeting of the Labour members in the House of Commons, the object of forming a definite Labour Group.

House of Commons. Jas. Parker was endorsed.

HALIFAX. The men should go down and address a public meeting in WOLVERHAMPTON. It was decided to respect to local organism and the public meeting in the town.

GENERAL ELECTION. It was resolved to send a circular to the constituencies likely to be fought recommending that preparations be made.

CONSTITUENCIES. The Council discussed arrangements for contesting constituencies at the next opportunity. It was agreed to approve of candidatures in Manchester, Glasgow, Leicester, Blackburn, Preston, Merthyr, Bradford, Halifax, and Dundee. The following constituencies are under consideration:—Rochdale and Ashton (fought at the last election), and York, Norwich, Wolverhampton, Paisley, Gower, Keighley, Cleveland, Colne Valley, and Gorton.

WAR CONFERENCES. In order to give effect to the Conference resolution it was resolved "That the N.A.C. approves of the Conferences being convened under the auspices of the local Trades Councils." It was agreed that the resolution for the Conferences should be drafted by the Advisory Committee and sent round to the N.A.C. The Advisory Committee was empowered to deal with all details relating to the Conferences.

UNSUITABLE LECTURERS. The attention of the Council was drawn to the fact that considerable injury was being done to the cause of Socialism by the conduct and speeches of certain lecturers. The matter will be further considered by the Council.

SOUTH WALES. It was recommended that a demonstration should be held at a convenient railway centre in South Wales during the summer. The matter was referred to the Advisory Committee.

DRINK QUESTION. A long discussion took place upon the question of the sale of drink in I.L.P. Clubs. There was a strong feeling expressed that some steps should be taken to disassociate the Movement from the drinking element. The Secretary was instructed to present a report upon the relations of the I.L.P. clubs which sold drink with the Head Office.

NEXT MEETING. It was agreed that the next meeting should be held at Glasgow on September 16th and 17th.

Society for the Reform of School Discipline.

A large number of educational reformers have banded themselves together under the above title. The objects of the new Society are set forth as follows:—

(1) The abolition of corporal punishment, which has already been effected in the schools of France, Holland, Belgium, New York, Cleveland, Philadelphia, etc., South Australia, and many British Schools.

(2) The substitution of natural and educative methods of discipline.

(3) The institution of the American "School City System," under which children acting as citizens and officials of their school as a "city," under good guidance, make and enforce their own laws, thus in a practical way acquiring the principles of true citizenship and developing the faculties of self-government—the climax of education.

Of the sixty-three members of the General Committee of the Society eleven are I.L.P. School Board representatives.

NOW READY.

THE REFORMERS' YEAR BOOK,

BEING

"THE LABOUR ANNUAL" FOR 1901.

It is the one Reference Book which no Student, Representative, or Social Reformer can afford to be without.

Order through Booksellers at 1/- and 2/- net.

It will be sent post free, in paper, for 1/3; in cloth gilt, 2/3.

Address: **JOSIAH WALLASEY** Editor and Publisher, R.Y.B.,

WALLASEY, CHESHIRE.

NOW READY.

NOW READY.

ANNUAL REPORT of the INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

CONTAINS: Report of the National Administrative Council, Resolutions and Discussion at the Annual Conference, Directory of Branches, Directory of I.L.P. Members on Public Bodies, &c., &c.

Price, 2d.; post free, 3d.

I.L.P. OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, LONDON.

PROPAGANDA WORK FOR ALL TO DO.

IF YOU WANT TO HELP THE I.L.P., ORDER

THE PLATFORM

FROM YOUR NEWSAGENT.

Each Copy of **THE PLATFORM** comprises Twenty up-to-date Leaflets. A New Leaflet every week.

Now you have a chance to reach your neighbours in a quiet but effective way.

A novel and original means of teaching our principles and extending our influence.

THE PLATFORM. One Penny Weekly.

Published at the I.L.P. OFFICE, 53, FLEET ST., LONDON.

MONTHLY REPORT FROM HEAD OFFICE.

JUNE, 1901.

70 Branches paid Fees in June.

30 " sent reports without fees.
29 " pay fees quarterly.
69 " sent neither fees nor reports.

The income of the Head Office during June was :—

Affiliation Fees	£18 7 3
National Branch	0 5 0
Election Fund	2 17 7
Sales	12 17 10½
Propaganda Fund	1 0 0
Debt Fund	1 9 9
Elected Persons' Conference	1 1 10
	£37 19 3½

The Branch Report Sheet for July must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

CONSTITUTION.—Copies of the Constitution of the Party may be obtained from Head Office, price Fourpence per dozen, post free. Pence Cards are supplied at the same price. Samples on application.

NATIONAL BRANCH.—The National Branch of the I.L.P. is open to Socialists who endorse the objects and methods of the Party, but who are unable, through geographical or other difficulties, to join a local Branch. Members of the National Branch receive copies of all the official publications of the Party. Subscriptions for the year 1901 are now due, and should be sent to the Head Office. The amount of subscription is left to the discretion of the member.

OUR ELECTED PERSONS.—We are at all times glad to supply our members on public bodies and to supply them with reports or copies of newspapers containing records of their work, we shall be very greatly obliged.

UNATTACHED SYMPATHISERS.—Branches are recommended to prepare lists of known sympathisers in their districts. Such people should be asked to subscribe to the funds of the Party if they cannot see their way to become members. A printed form of invitation may be obtained from the Head Office, price 1s. 6d. per 100, post free.

NEW BRANCHES.

South Birmingham—Secretary, S. F. Williams, 171, Stoney Lane, Sparkbrook, Birmingham.

Springburn (Glasgow)—Secretary, John S. Weldon, 21, Crossburn Street, Glasgow.

NEW SECRETARIES.

Birmingham Central—R. Rankin, 44, Hertford Street, Balsall Heath.

Brechin—James Smith, 109, Montrose Street, Brechin.

Dowlais—C. J. Griffiths, 36, Berry Square, Dowlais.

Govan—John Fulton, 96, McLellan Street, Plantation, Glasgow.

Kensington N.—H. Rowbotham, 1, Norland Gardens, W.

Openshaw—Miss Annie Lee, 5, Kenworthy Street, Openshaw.

Shildon—Thomas Scarff, 23, Foundry Street, Shildon, R.S.O.

Spennymoor—Kitt Hardy, 10, Hume Street, Low Spennymoor, Durham.

Branch Fees and Reports.

The following Branches paid Fees in June :—

Arbroath 5s., Ayr 1s. 4d., Ayrshire Central 5s., Barnsley 2s. 1d., Birmingham West 3s., Blackburn 6s. 3d., Bootle 1s. 6d., Brechin 1s. 6d., Brighthouse 10s., Bromley 1s. 7d., Camlachie 10s., Carnoustie 1s. 2d., Cheltenham 1s., Clapham 3s. 6d., Cleckheaton 6s., Clydebank 5s., Consett 2s. 6d., Crook 2s. 6d., Dalserf Lanward paid, Darlington 2s. 6d., Dowlais 2s. 11d., East Ham 1s. 6d., Edinburgh 15s. 2d., Eccles 5s., Failsworth 5s., Farnworth 10s., Felling 6s. 7d., Gateshead 7s. 6d., Gillingham 1s. 2d., Glasgow City 6s. 3d., Gloucestershire South 2s. 6d., Holbeck 1s. 2d., Horwich 10s., Hull 6s. 2d., Hyde 8s. 4d., Keighley 5s., Kilmarnock 2s. 6d., Leicester £1 10s., Lesmahagow 1s., Littleborough 2s. 6d., London City 5s., Long Eaton 10s. 6d., Middlesbrough 1s. 8d., Middleton 10s., Milnsbridge paid, Mossley 11s. 3d., New Marske 2s., Norwich 10s., Nottingham 4s. 6d., Openshaw £1 4s. 6d., Paisley 16s. 8d., Pendlebury 4s. 6d., Pontypridd 1s. 2d., Preston 5s., Rishton 1s. 6d., Rotherham 3s., Salford North 4s. 2d., Shildon 3s., South Shields 2s. 6d., Sowerby 6s., Springburn 10d., Stockton 4s. 2d., Sunderland 15s., Thornaby 1s., Tottenham 1s. 6d., Warrington 3s. 6d., West Ham (North) 7s. 6d., Workington 10s., Yeading 1s. 8d., Ystalyfera 1s. (70)

The following Branches pay Fees Quarterly :—

Annfield Plain, Armley, Attercliffe, Barrow, Bedlinog, Colne Valley, Cowdenbeath, Crewe, Dudley, Finsbury, Fulham, Hawick, Hexham, Hollinwood, Huddersfield, Longwood, Lye, Musselburgh Nelson, Ossett, Rothwell, Rutherglen, St. Rolox, Spennymoor, Tantobie, Wednesbury, West Bromwich, West Ham (South), York. (29)

The following Branches sent Reports without Fees :—

Ashton, Bermondsey, Birmingham (S.), Birmingham (C.), Bradford, Bridgeton, College, Derby, Dundee, Farsley, Glossop, Govan, Hackney, Halifax, Hartlepool, Hutchinsontown, North Kensington, Liverpool, Macclesfield, Manchester and Salford, Mexborough, Pen-y-darren, Rochdale, St. Pancras, W. Salford, Spennymoor, Springburn, Stockport, Woolwich, Yarmouth. (30)

The following Branches sent neither Reports nor Fees :—

Abertillery, Aston, Berkeley, Blantyre, Bolton, Bordesley, Burslem, Bury, Cardiff, Chester, Chesterfield, Cowling, Crosskeys, Darwen, Doncaster, Doncaster Crosshills, Grantham, Great Eland, Gloucester, Inverness, Kirkcaldy, E. Hunsley, Leeds Central, Leeds, Macclesfield, Maesycwmmer, Mansfield, Merthyr Tydfil, Milford, Motherwell, Newcastle, New Cumnock, Newport, Normanton, Oakworth, Oldham Central, Oldham S.S., Oswestry, Partick, Peckham, Portsmouth, Pudsey, St. Helens, Shrewsbury S.S., Southampton, Spen Colliery, Spen Valley S.S., Stalybridge, Stewarton, Stroud, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Thornhill, Lees, Townhill, Tradeston, Tyldesley, Vale of Leven, Walkden, Walsall, Wellington S.S., Werneth, Wishaw, Wolverhampton. (69)

OTHER CASH RECEIVED IN JUNE.

Sales.—Glasgow City 3s. 6d., Felling 1s. 9d., Paisley 7s. 6d., Keighley 2s. 6d., Govan 2s., Bedlinog 3s. 1d., South Gloucestershire 4s. 5d., Preston 5s., Middlesbrough 10d., Derby 2s., Clapham 1s. 4d., Hull 1s. 9d., Clydebank 1s. 11d., Carnoustie 5d., Ashton 4s. 6d., Long Eaton 2s. 7½d., Pen-y-darren 8s. 3d., Gillingham 10½d., Tantobie 8s. 11d., South Shields 2s. 9½d., Thornaby 6d., John E. Milholland £2 2s., Openshaw 3s. 4d., Workington 2s. 7d., Stockton 2s. 4d., Brighthouse 7s., Bromley 2s., West Birmingham 4s. 8d., Edinburgh 9s., Manchester £3 2s. 8d., Bootle 1s. 11d., Horwich 1s. 10d., Slaitwaite 3s. 6d., Sowerby 5s. 10d. Cash Sales £2 2s. 8½d. Total £12 17s. 10½d.

National Branch.—J. Clayton 2s. 6d., J. Lane 1s. 6d., W. Harper 1s. Total 5s.

Propaganda Fund.—Mrs. Jeannie Mole £1.

Debt Fund.—C. J. (Blackburn) 3s. 9d., South Shields I.L.P. £1, South Shields Comrades 6s. Total £1 9s. 9d.

Elected Persons' Conference.—£1 1s. 10d.

Election Fund.—West Bradford, returned £2 17s. 7d.

(Signed) JOHN PENNY.

I.L.P. NEWS.

THE MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

No. 50. VOL. V.

MAY, 1901.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

The Revenue of the I.L.P.

NOT £664, BUT £15,000.

Much glee has been exhibited in the camp of the Liberal and Tory press over the supposed financial destitution of the Independent Labour Party. According to the balance-sheet submitted to the Annual Conference of the Party, the head office receipts for the year amounted to £664, while there was carried over a deficit of £310, which had accumulated during the past eight years. With almost one accord the capitalist press has seized upon the figures and rejoiced around them. Of what account is a Party with an annual income of only £664 say they. Surely we need no longer attribute political importance to a Party that is actually £310 in debt, they untunefully chorus together.

Let the gratulation of the newspapers abound. We may, however, take the liberty of remarking that they are comporting themselves a bit ridiculously, even as they did over the supposed bankruptcy of the Transvaal Republic 25 years ago. History repeats itself.

The legend of the beggarly array of coins found in the Transvaal Exchequer when the British entered Pretoria in 1878 has lost somewhat of its savour as a telling accusation against the validity of the Boer claim to nationhood. It has happened that the Boers have made all the world witness how stoutly they can fight, not only with but little funds in their treasury, but apparently with no treasury at all. British statesmen will perhaps never again be inspired to assail a small republic under the misapprehension that because it once possessed only a few coppers in its treasury chest, or even because it should happen to possess no treasury chest at all, that it can easily be broken into fragments and ground into powder.

But to the £664 of the I.L.P. This is how the *Standard* pleasantly upbraids us:—

The resources of the Independent Labour Party as stated to the Conference are, unhappily, not proportionate to the Chairman's estimate of their importance. An annual income of six hundred and sixty-four pounds with a deficit of fifty-seven pounds, does not suggest a condition quite so encouraging as his speech would lead us to look for. Liabilities of three hundred and ninety-four pounds, counter-balanced only by assets of eighty-four pounds in hand, and the prospect of one hundred and fifty pounds from the Election Fund, point rather to something like financial embarrassment. The Delegates, we notice, have passed a resolution recommending the branches to take means for wiping off the deficit *pro rata*, and something certainly ought to be done. The capitalist will hardly be frightened when the enemy's war-chest is practically empty.

Clearly the *Standard* and its kind are convinced that, notwithstanding all our franchises and political improvements, money is still more essential than principle to the triumph of a Party or a cause. Evidently, too, the lesson afforded by the Boers' fighting so magnificently with scant financial resources has not been applied by the newspaper to the possibility of Socialist representation at

home. They have not discerned that in home as in colonial affairs money can only furnish what it can buy, and that principles and great self-sacrificing effort on the part of the enlightened working-class cannot be procured, like Outlanders' agitations abroad or sugar bounty agitations at home, by big cash donations.

Having said so much, we may now point out for the instruction of the press, and all whom it may concern, that the sum of £664 received at the I.L.P. headquarters represents just what it purports to represent—the sum received towards the headquarter's outlay. It does not represent the revenue of the I.L.P. as a political organisation. It does not include the ordinary receipts of a single one of the 200 affiliated branches of the party—not to speak of the numerous non-affiliated branches—nor does it include a penny of the funds received for Parliamentary or local elections. The sum of £664 has no more relation to the general revenue of the I.L.P. than the sum paid for the maintenance of the Treasury Department in Whitehall has to the entire income of the kingdom.

Estimated on the returns furnished to the head office by the branches, the ordinary income of the branches of the Party cannot be set down at less than between £10,000 to £11,000. The following will afford, we believe, a fairly approximate estimate of the revenue of the I.L.P. as an organisation during the past year:—

Head Office: Affiliation Fees, &c.	£664
Payment of Member of Parliament Fund	150
Parliamentary Election Fund:	
Central	£1,873
Local	1,330— 3,203
Estimated Branch Subscriptions, Collections, &c.	10,500
	£14,517

In addition to the above, there should be included considerable sums contributed by the branches toward joint trade union and I.L.P. candidatures for Town Councils, School Boards, &c., as well as many hundreds of pounds raised by the branches towards Socialist hall schemes and for the promotion of local Socialist journals, and numerous other undertakings. Altogether, we should say that the revenue obtained by the I.L.P. last year for all its schemes of propaganda could not be far short of £20,000.

The Socialist Mission at Preston.

The inaugural Socialist Mission, promoted under the recently formed Special Propaganda Scheme, has been held at Preston. The Mission lasted five days, beginning on May-day. On the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, large indoor meetings were held in the Assembly Hall; on Saturday two district open-air meetings were held; and on the Sunday two magnificent demonstrations took

place on the Market Place. The Mission aroused the interest of the people to a degree which we see only exhibited at a parliamentary election time, and the local papers devoted many columns to reports of the proceedings.

Special subjects, such as Social Ideals, Municipalisation, Imperialism, &c., were dealt with each evening by the speakers, and the Press readily admitted that the speaking was of a very high order. There can be no doubt that the Socialist movement in Preston has been greatly helped forward by the Mission, and that, all going well, several thousand votes should be added to the I.L.P. poll at the next Election.

The Preston meetings were experimental, and have fully justified the adoption of the Special Propaganda Scheme. As soon as the indoor season returns, the Mission will be resumed in the leading industrial districts of the country.

And Thou, too, G. F. Watts!

The great painter—the greatest, perhaps, of the age—G. F. Watts, R.A., has also, it would appear, fallen—not under the hand of the grim Death which he has depicted so majestically, a fate that would have left his fame undimmed, but down on his knees voluntarily before the brazen image of Jingoism, cheek by jowl with Hugh Price Hughes. In the *Nineteenth Century* for the present month, in an article entitled “Our Race as Pioneers,” the prophet-painter essays to declare the purpose of God and civilisation, and hallows with endearing terms the confiscation of territories, the horrors of war, and the addiction to turf betting as divine ordinances for its fulfilment. So, at least, we interpret his strangely ecstatic rhapsody. Here are a few of his sentences:—

Our conflict with the Boers may be explained as the outcome of the law which says “Forward!” The Boers stop the way—they are unprogressive; though a fine manly race, they stand still; they are like children. Children are delightful people, but they cannot stand all day idle in the stream, while the stress and strife of the highway goes on beside them.

They are a pastoral people. The pastoral life may be a beautiful one, but it is not a progressive one. . . . A pastoral community is delightful certainly, but impossible in Cheapside. . . . The pastoral life of the Boers is an anachronism.

Napoleon said “War cannot be made with rosewater,” and so commerce, as it is necessary to us, cannot be carried on without competition and pushing the limits of our interests.

At present the abolition of war is out of the question.

The undeniable loss of prestige, and the rancour exhibited by surrounding nations, make our position one of great peril only to be met by some heroic impulse permeating all classes, such as the religious revivals of olden time, or of the Turf now, when every gutter child feels a throb of excitement at the name of the favourite and the state of the odds.

Our aspirations have never been ignoble, nor have we been cruel in carrying them out.

We rub our eyes as we read these sentences from the painter of “Mammon,” “For He had Many Possessions,” “The Good Samaritan,” “Love and Life,” “The Dweller in the Innermost,” and all the magnificent array of allegories in which, we imagined, he sought to raise the thoughts of men above commerce and war, and above all robbery, hatefulness, and murder. We can only reckon this declaration of his—unless it be a ghastly satire—in which he glorifies the most selfish and

brutish passions of the race, as no less than an avowal of apostasy. He has desecrated for us, with this stroke of his pen, all the beautiful fabrications of his brush. Sometimes in the old age of men, as in the old age of empires, the soul hastens away unseen, and leaves only a borrowed lamp burning. We cherish, however, the hope that the article may yet prove to be an extraordinary satirical device.

Press Comments on the I.L.P. Conference.

(Continued from last issue.)

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

What must strike a Liberal who reads the report of the Independent Labour Conference at Leicester is, one would say, how much of the proceedings is devoted to advocacy of traditional Liberal principles. Opposition to aggressive war, special abhorrence of the financial factor in aggression, repugnance to conscription, sympathy with foreign reformers, like the Russian students, struggling for the first rudiments of liberty—these are of the life-blood of Liberalism as understood in the great days of Gladstone and Bright. These also are the main features of a gathering of the most representative group of Socialists. There is, indeed, a modern Liberalism which has advanced beyond these ideas of the “antiquated” Manchester school. But the majority of Liberals have not shared in the advance, and now, by a strange turn of the wheel, they are found occupying common ground with the leaders of Socialism. There was a noteworthy passage in the opening speech of the Chairman, protesting against the endeavours to make of Socialism a kind of class-war, or to erect its creed into a set of dogmas to be sworn to under pain of excommunication. It is a vain hope that the majority of the nation will within the limits of a generation come to agree upon any set of abstract formulae. If they did so the formulae would probably be found to have changed their real meaning. But it is quite within the bounds of possibility that within a generation the country should be induced to travel far along the practical path of reform which those same formulae would lay down. This is, indeed, the case with Socialism. Great numbers of thoughtful men who would not agree to the “nationalisation of the means of production” as an abstract principle would, for example, work for a considerable development of municipal enterprise and ownership, for the improvement of national education at the public cost, for the better and closer regulation of the hours and conditions of labour, and for a fuller provision for the aged and infirm. And when one of these reforms is carried another comes into prominence, and history shows how, without any formulation of abstract ideals, those who keep their minds open and are alert for fresh possibilities of making the world better move steadily forward till they reach results very different from any they had foreseen. In this spirit we believe that what is best in Liberalism and in Socialism is likely to co-operate better in the future than in the past. The common danger from militarism, and still more from the great financial interests that underlie not militarism only but all that is most reactionary in our home politics, has made all who care at all for social justice more quick to find out who are their true friends, and laid the foundations of a new and stronger party of progress.

GLASGOW HERALD.

Progress in politics must be measured by seats won, and when the Council of the I.L.P. declares that it has “attained a position of considerable political importance,” and its president asserts that the party “may regard its place in politics with satisfaction and survey the future with confidence,” and when at the same time it is notorious that the party has lost ground in the House of Commons and admits a big deficit in its funds, the only conclusion to which the public can come is that the art of humbugging the electors is not one of those which Socialism seeks to banish from public life. . . . It is no doubt contended that the I.L.P. would have done better at

the General Election but for the war fever. Mr. Bruce Glasier admitted that the "national dementia" had caused him some anxiety a year ago. Granted that the enthusiasm for the war influenced the electors last year, is it not plain that, if the I.L.P. representatives were hurt by it, they gravely misapprehended the temper of the people to whom they appealed? And is not that symptomatic of the party? Is not one of the chief causes of their failure to attract the working man their ignorance of human nature and obstinate determination not to take any account of the normal combination of selfishness and unselfishness in the Briton.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

Mr. Glasier's prophecy about Sir A. Milner was not redeemed by a single flash of probability. . . . It is not a pleasing spectacle, and all who wish well of their country and are desirous of the help of all earnest and conscientious men in setting right any wrong, or in aiding the work of real reform, can not do otherwise than regret the falling away from their high ideals of the members of the Independent Labour Party. . . . The world is full of disappointments, and disillusion comes to all of us. But something better was expected from the Independent Labour Party. We were to see in them profession and practice combined. But the parochialism of their outlook has blinded them to real and important issues, and led them to overlook what should have been their first and primary duty—the relief of the poor [natives and outlanders] from a cruel and crushing tyranny.

PALM MALL GAZETTE.

The Independent Labour Party reared a magnificent head at Leicester yesterday. Mr. J. Bruce Glasier it was who manifested the might of this congress of the people, and the story of the progress of socialism and the pending triumph of the Proletariat was calculated to shake the nerves of timid old ladies everywhere. The great political achievement of this democratic body of workers is Mr. Keir Hardie, who has risen proudly to fame on the prostrate body of a bloated Liberal capitalist. This triumph was enough to justify the existence of the I.L.P. One Liberal capitalist, however, came into favourable mention, and that was Mr. George Cadbury. Yet we do not remember that he has written a letter to say that Mr. Keir Hardie has "sacrificed something for conscience." He did better, perhaps, in the eyes of the I.L.P.; for he paid the bulk of the election expenses of the I.L.P. candidates, which was a godsend, and acceptable, even from a Liberal capitalist: for the I.L.P. has liabilities to date of £394 and assets £84. The Socialistic millennium is a long way off yet.

LIVERPOOL DAILY POST.

Quite a novel theory as to the prosperity of the Independent Labour party is propounded this evening by one of the Ministerial journals. It is to the effect that the organisation is financed in its election campaigns by a well-known and wealthy Liberal. A common cry against the Socialists used to be that they were kept alive by "Tory gold"—an hypothesis which had the merit at least of being reconcilable with the avowed enmity of some Labour extremists to Liberal candidates. Several seats were lost to Liberalism at the last election by the wrecking policy of the Socialists, while the only seat gained by the Independent Labour party was won by Liberal votes. Mr. Bruce Glasier is reported to have given a different account of Mr. Keir Hardie's success, describing it as a victory over two Liberal opponents. He was evidently ignorant of the peculiar local conditions of the struggle.

LEEDS MERCURY.

The Independent Labour Party are not only opposed to the war, but they are opposed to annexation as the result of the war. Where is the evidence that in this attitude they have any special claim to voice working-class opinion throughout the country? In September of last year the Trade Union Congress at Huddersfield passed a resolution condemning the war, yet in October the large industrial centres elected supporters of the Government responsible for the whole course of South African policy, including the policy of annexation to follow the war. It does not appear from any recent evidence of the tendency of working-class opinion as a whole that there is any wide-spread disposition to turn aside from both the old political parties as having out-lived their usefulness, and to set up a new organisation on the principles of Socialism.

SUNDAY CHRONICLE.

"England," said the wielder of the world's destinies in the time to come when the party can get more than one member and a little more money, "England was never so little, never so despised, never so poor since the days of Edward III. as it was to-day." Poor, despised little England! After six centuries of progress the I.L.P. finds it no better. Let us thank a merciful heaven that we have still Mr. Bruce Glasier and his colleagues with us. In the fulness of time they may yet restore us to a proud place among the nations. In fact, when the I.L.P. is in office with Mr. Glasier as Prime Minister, and Mr. Hardie at the Exchequer, our future will then be abundantly assured.

HUDDERSFIELD EXAMINER.

Although some of the delegates of the Independent Labour Conference held at Leicester, this week, showed little respect for Liberalism, several of the resolutions adopted embodied important principles which have been steadily advocated by the Liberal party, and afford grounds for hope that the real friends of reform in the Labour ranks will not continue to favour Toryism at the polling booth in order to spite the Liberals who cannot adopt the whole of the Independent Labour programme.

What the I.L.P. is Doing.

Tom Taylor, whose term of appointment as organiser at Derby expired last month, has found himself unable to continue the duties, and A. Jackson has been unanimously appointed in his place. Tom Taylor has acted as organiser for the branch for several years.

The income of the Keighley Branch from all sources for the first three months of the year was £33 rs. 11½d., and the expenditure £19 14s. 1d. The branch ran three candidates for the recent Guardian elections, and were successful in securing a seat. The vote was increased by an average of 105 per candidate over last time.

A section of the members of the Barnsley Socialist Society, which is affiliated with the I.L.P., were recently expelled that organisation. They have now opened what they venture to call a *Clarion Club*, but the club is not, in our view, likely to add much lustre to the title.

Mexbro' I.L.P., of which the Secretary, F. Smith, ranks among the most earnest of I.L.P. members, has arranged a series of monthly lectures during the summer. Bruce Glasier opened the series on Monday, April 29th, and will be followed by Philip Snowden and other leading speakers.

At the first meeting of the recently elected Board of Guardians at Holbeck (Leeds), Arthur Bannister, I.L.P., who was defeated at the election, was, on the motion of the Chairman, co-opted as a member of the Board.

The Administrative Council will meet in London on Monday, June 17th. In connection with the visit a public demonstration will be held in one of the large halls on Sunday. A special consultative meeting with London delegates will also be arranged.

Mrs. Bruce Glasier inaugurated the Workington I.L.P. open-air campaign on Sunday, the 5th, with two very large meetings.

Alderman Jowett's duties will now, we are glad to know, admit of his undertaking lecturing engagements on Sundays. His address is Grantham Place, Bradford.

Darlington I.L.P. will again contest North Ward at the next municipal elections. J. Robinson, who stood as the I.L.P. candidate last year, and polled 480 and was defeated by only 197, will again be the candidate. The Party is arranging a series of several weeks' open-air meetings, to be addressed by Philip Snowden, George Green, and others.

The Labour Representation Committee has just issued a double-page leaflet entitled "Labour and Politics." It is an admirable plea for direct Labour representation, and we strongly recommend branches to procure copies for careful distribution. They may be had at 1s. 6d. per 100, or 12s. 6d. per 1,000, from the Secretary, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

We regret to hear that our comrade Councillor Craggs has been compelled to leave Shildon to obtain work in the Wakefield district. This will necessitate, it is feared, his resignation of his District Councillorship.

Independent Labour Party.

HEAD OFFICE, 58, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

All inquiries with respect to the I.L.P. should be addressed to the above office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming branches are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

I.L.P. PUBLICATIONS.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Large Poster 65in. by 45in. Deals with the aims and position of the Party. Clearly printed, and easily read. Price, 3s. per doz.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Small Poster. Suitable for window display, size 17½in. by 22½in. Price, 9d. per doz.

Members' Pence Cards.—4d. per doz., post free.

Rules.—To insert in Pence Cards (with rubber bands), 4d. per doz.

CAROLINE MARTYN MEMORIAL LIBRARY.

No. 1. *Politics and the I.L.P.*—By John Edwards. Pamphlet, 16 pp being the paper read at the Annual Conference, 1897, re-written and enlarged. Price, 1d.

No. 2. *Independent Labour Party*.—Statement of Principles. Leaflet, 4pp. Price, 4s. per 1,000.

No. 3. *A Labour Catechism*.—Leaflet, 4pp., arranged in question and answer form. Price, 4s. per 1,000.

No. 4. *What Boards of Guardians Can Do*.—Leaflet, 4pp., by Mrs. Pankhurst. Price, 4s. per 1,000.

I.L.P. News.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

Subscription Rates: One year, 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month, 1½d. Post free. For advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News," Fleet Street, E.C.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, E.C.

No. 50.

MAY, 1901.

The Voice of the Press.

We print this month a few additional extracts from the Press comments upon the Annual Conference, for which we were unable to find space in our last month's issue. We are not sure that our readers will derive an increased sentiment of respect for the intellectual authority of the Press by a perusal of the extracts. Our excuse for publishing so many of them is that our readers may see in a somewhat condensed form the character of criticism that does duty in the press against the I.L.P.

It will be seen from many of the cuttings—and they are but samples of numerous others of their kind—that the enemy is vastly satisfied with the circumstance that our Head Office receipts for the year were only £664, and that the Party only secured the election of one Parliamentary Candidate out of ten. Elsewhere we take the opportunity of showing how deceived or deceiving the newspapers are with respect to this £664, and the financial resources of the Party. Here we need only remark that the I.L.P. publishes a statement of its Head Office accounts, a virtue which the Liberal and Conservative parties have not yet attained to; and further that we venture to believe that our £664 derived from working-men's subscriptions is a larger sum than is received at either the Liberal or Tory head-quarters from working-class sources.

With respect to the ratio of success of our I.L.P. candidates at the General Election being only one out of ten, we might point out that we were within 42 votes of having two out of our ten candidates elected, a ratio that would not have been far behind the ratio of the Liberal Party successes at the General Election. But even with one success to nine defeats, our Party fared as well, at least, as did the Liberal Party in Lancashire and the Tory Party in Wales; and both these parties cherish, we are told, the hope of winning the bulk of these constituencies at no distant date. The I.L.P., on its part, is inspired with a no less sanguine spirit.

In the course of their comments, many of the newspapers blundered with facility. For example, thus soliloquised the *Standard*:—

"The Independent Labour Party could boast in its Conference of one Member of Parliament—J. Keir Hardie,—and one candidate—J. R. Macdonald, not an imposing ideal."

Perhaps not, but it happened to be neither the ideal nor the fact of the case. True, the report which appeared in the *Standard* did actually state that J. Keir Hardie and J. R. Macdonald were upon the platform; but the *Standard* ought by this time to be chary of founding editorial sarcasms upon the accuracy of the reports which it receives into its columns. There were, we may inform the *Standard*, not one but four Parliamentary candidates present at the Conference, viz.: J. R. Macdonald, Councillor Snowden, Alderman Jowett, and Councillor Parker, and these four candidates polled respectively 4,164, 7,096, 4,949, and 3,276 votes. The matter of whether there were one or four Parliamentary candidates at the Conference is, of course, a quite unimportant point, but we have instanced the *Standard* misstatement as illustrative of the easy habit of misrepresentation into which the Press persistently slips in dealing with the affairs of political minorities.

The "Manchester Guardian" Article.

In fine contrast to the majority of Press comments stands out the *Manchester Guardian* editorial of April 10th, which, we regret, we cannot print in full. This newspaper has, perhaps, above all other daily journals in the country maintained, not only during the present war period but for many years, an attitude of great fairness of view and a habit of courtesy of speech towards almost every question and every movement relating to the religious, political, and social progress of the nation. For this reason alone, the comments of the *Manchester Guardian* upon our Party are worthy of respectful attention. Its remarks have another and even more important interest to us. They place before us in careful phrase a conception of the respective forces and aims of Liberalism and Socialism which expresses we believe the view held by a large section of thoughtful observers of recent political change—a section we may add which includes many who accept, as well as many who reject, the final aims of Socialism.

In the eyes of the *Manchester Guardian* Liberalism and Socialism are only antagonistic in so far as the principles of each are pressed to their most divergent and impossible extremes. In so far as they seek to deal with questions of practical social reform they are, though separated,

The Young Socialist.

A MAGAZINE OF LOVE AND SERVICE.

No. 4.

LONDON.

APRIL, 1901.

FORWARD !

"Forward ! the day is breaking,
Earth shall be dark no more ;
Millions of men are waking
On every sea and shore.
With trumpets and with banners
The world is moving on ;
The air rings with hosannas,
The field is fought and won."

MY DEAR SOCIALIST CHILDREN,

We must go forward. Standing still is not for us who have such a long way to go, and so powerful an enemy to meet. We must go forward ; and, our enemy being twofold, our march also must be twofold. It is unbrotherliness that is our enemy. There are other enemies that come against us, but almost all of them are of kin with this one. Unbrotherliness, both within ourselves and in the world, is the great enemy that we are to move against and make war upon. Our march against the enemy within will have to be made alone, or largely so. Friends will meet us by the way with words of cheer and offers of refreshment, but the darkest hours, the bleakest places must be passed with no friend near. Friends will buckle on our armour and make us ready for the fight, but when we close with the foe they can only look on with sympathetic eye. But courage, young hearts ! On this journey, whether on other journeys, we are sure to reach our goal. In this fight, whether in other fights, victory is sure. Here we bear a charmed life. No torrent can drown us, no bog can swallow us ; and our enemy, when we meet him, although he may annoy and wound, cannot in the end destroy us. The enterprise in which we can have least outward aid is that in which we are most certain of success. There is none of us who struggles faithfully against the unbrotherliness in his own heart who will not ere long break its power, and—mark these words—there is none of us who is not pledged to this struggle, this conquest, who has the right to call himself a Socialist in the full sense of the term. We must go forward, then, and the foremost banner under which we march and fight is to be *brotherliness of character*.

But we have not only an evil in our own hearts to cope with ; we have the same evil to cope with as we find it existing in the world. How this outward evil looks and acts will be described to you by your parents and teachers and in this magazine from time to time. In our attack upon it, however, we are

not to be alone, as in the former case; here we can go in twos and threes, we can go in little groups, in goodly companies, in vast hosts, voice answering to voice, eye looking back to eye, heart beating in tune with heart. But I cannot promise you as great success now as before. The enemy is too mighty, too widespread to be beaten as we would like. But we can do much, we will do much, because our hearts are brave and united. What is the first thing, then, that we ought to do in entering upon our campaign? Well, the first thing, I think, that we ought to do is to muster as large an army as possible of young soldiers of our cause, the high and holy cause of human brotherhood. This is already being done in our Socialist Sunday-schools. Here our young soldiers are being trained for their noble and peaceful warfare. Now, we must do all we can to enlarge and improve the schools we have, but, while doing so, we must also be active in forming new ones. In the latter respect we have been standing still for a while. This is the first year of the new century; let us make a forward movement worthy of it. I am sure many new schools might presently be started. Take Glasgow—it has already done well, but it can do still better. It has been wise not to go too fast, but to build up its schools and its organisation generally. Has not the time now come, however, when it ought again to take up its oars and push rapidly onward? It has now six schools; I hope to be present ere long at a fine meeting with ten schools and a thousand children. (There must be a good cup of tea going that night—not Lipton's.) St. Rollox, Anderston, and either Calton or Camlachie ought to be taken in hand forthwith; and the South Side, instead of having only one school as now, should have four, the other three being in Govan, Kinning Park and Hutchesontown. As to the teachers, that should form no difficulty. Alfred Russell, who is doing excellent work as secretary of the S.S.S. Union, could be relieved of some of it that he might take a school. Dugald and Mrs. Campbell ought to bethink them whether the time has not come for them to don the shining armour of this high enterprise. They are both well qualified. Andrew Bulloch has made College School a fine success; could not someone be found to take his place and let him go elsewhere? I know he is ready to go anywhere in the spirit of the pioneer.

“Swift spring to your places, Pioneers, O Pioneers.”

And there is a gentle lady beloved of all who might be persuaded to again pilot a school through its first stage, although I am doubtful. And there are others. The children's cause in Glasgow is happy in the possession of a band of capable and devoted servants, both men and women. In the North of England the state of matters is not satisfactory. Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield have each a school, but a number of large towns, such as Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield and others have not a single school within their borders. There are several Labour Churches in the north that are without

schools. This must not continue. At the forthcoming Conference let the schools mentioned awake to their opportunities and responsibilities. And may I suggest that a conference be held at Liverpool next Easter during the I.L.P. Conference? London is still almost virgin soil for our movement, but the plough will soon be at work breaking up the hard soil and making it ready for the seed.

Our young soldiers, then, are being enrolled in our Sunday Schools; but there are places where there are not likely to be schools and there are also Socialist children who are not likely to join our schools. Could we not have a wider organisation? Even in a very small town a group of children might be brought together now and again for social purposes. Is not the ideal a "Socialist Children's League, National and International"?

Now here is a letter from one you know. He deserves well of you; and history, mentioning his name, will say that he saw far and deserved well of his country.

House of Commons, April 13, 1901.

DEAR CRUSADERS,—Uncle Archie has asked me to write you a few lines which are to be printed in the YOUNG SOCIALIST, and I do so gladly.

From my window I can see the green fields on which the little lambkins are sporting and playing. The red and black and white currant bushes and the cherry and apple trees in the garden are beginning to bud, and if John Frost doesn't come to nip the buds they will keep on growing until in a few months they will have turned into ripe fruit. On the tall pine tree down near the water edge a bonny blackbird is singing his best, whilst big Roy, the dog, is stretched out at full length watching the sparrows as they steal the hens' food, and then gather bits of straw to build their nests with. By-and-bye there will be eggs in the nests, and then the young birds will come and their parents will sing to them and feed them all day long.

Everything here in the country at this season of the year is telling of plenty, and beauty, and joy. And we want your lives also to be full of beauty and joy. For if the birds can be happy and the flowers beautiful then the lives of men and women and boys and girls should be the same. And they would be the same if only we would all love each other, and not be selfish and greedy. Greed and selfishness are the two great curses which make our lives so sad and bad; and love and truth are the weapons with which we must fight selfish greed.

For if each boy and each girl grows up into a true and loving man or woman then we will have Socialism and all will be happy.

Now, Crusaders, there is something to live for. Be kind and true and everything else will come right.

With every good wish for your future, I am, yours affectionately,

J. KEIR HARDIE.

That letter is dated "House of Commons," but I am sure it was not written there. No green fields are there with little lambkins sporting and playing. I know where it was written. It was away in Bonnie Scotland, in Ayrshire, "where Lugar flows," in a country-side rich with memories of Covenanters and martyrs, from whom J. K. H. is himself descended, proud of his descent.

OUR SCHOOLS.

It puzzles me to know how I am to get in here all the pickings I would like to get in. The London Socialist children are to hold Labour Day with the grown-ups at the Crystal Palace on May 1. They are to do a Maypole dance and the Battersea school is to perform an operetta "Lazyland." Halifax school is holding May Sunday. In the morning there is to be a suitable lesson, in the afternoon the children take part in the procession to Shibden Park. The youngest ones go in waggons headed by a brass band, the school banner flying. A cricket club and gymnasium are being formed. Huddersfield school is rehearsing for its anniversary in June. The "Big Chief" is to be the speaker. Rutherglen school has had this winter monthly lectures under the joint auspices of the school and the I.L.P., with results satisfactory to both bodies. "Our school is progressing nicely. Had a splendid turn-out last Sunday." Paisley school held its second annual "At Home" on March 22. A local paper gives a report six inches long—"in every respect the entertainment was a success." Glasgow South Side has elected new president, George Neil, and secretary, Jenny Watt. Saturday "At Homes" closed for season; "a decided success under Jeanie Sharp," which does not surprise me. Summer rambles are to begin, with lessons on botany. Glasgow Central reminds me it is a year since I bade them good-bye, quoting my last text. The same text is quoted in a post-card that comes from the foot of the Ochil Hills, "Love not pleasure; love the good. This is the Everlasting Yea, wherein whoso walks and works it is well with him." The Glasgow schools will take part in the demonstration on the Green on May Sunday. "We will march from meeting-place of Central school with banners flying and will have a separate platform." The second of a series of meetings of grown-ups from all the schools was held on April 14. A paper was read by John Searson, of which more again. J. Bruce Glasier, President I.L.P., writes:—"I need not say that I greatly appreciate the work that the Schools are doing, and have great hopes of them becoming an important means of civilising the education of the children. In the course of the discussion upon Miss McMillan's paper on the Education of Children at the Elected Persons' Conference, frequent reference was made to the Socialist Sunday-schools."

Yours affectionately,

UNCLE ARCHIE.

yet complementary forces, and each must suffer by any implacable political estrangement of their supporters.

We cannot attempt in this column to deal with the *Guardian* article as it deserves. We must plead our innumerable statements of our position and aim as a Party in justification of the position which the I.L.P. has assumed. Historically, we would claim that the Socialist movement is not so much a complementary one to Liberalism, as the successor of Liberalism. It is the only Liberalism, if we may for the moment borrow the term, that bears a mission or hope of any achievement deserving of the efforts of men who wish to see civilisation made a worthy realisation of our present moral, and intellectual ideals, and our present social and industrial opportunities.

Socialist Resolution in Parliament.

We congratulate J. Keir Hardie, M.P., alike on the terms of the resolution, and the matter of the speech in which he submitted the proposition of Socialism (for the first time in history) to the British House of Commons, on April 23rd. It was not until 11-35 in the evening that he was called upon by the Speaker to move his resolution, and by the 12 o'clock rule, the debate was bound to stand adjourned at midnight. This was short shrift indeed, and we can well imagine our comrade's perplexity at having to decide what to do and what to say in such a small corner of time. As it was he appears to have pitched his speech in the right note to enlist the attention of the House, and his rapid but thoughtful survey of the industrial plight of the nation formed just the line of introduction that gave appropriateness to the resolution itself. Mr. Balfour and John Morley we are told seemed specially interested in the speech, and the Irish members applauded its points cordially. There was a remarkably good and attentive House at the time, and but for the finger of the clock there would in all probability have been a most interesting discussion. Richard Bell, M.P., the railwaymen's representative, formally seconded the resolution, after which the debate was adjourned.

Branches in those constituencies where it is proposed to run I.L.P. candidates at the next General Election had better be getting their election gear in order. It is not improbable that the three years' lease of life which pessimists allowed the present Government may be cut short by a half. There are, indeed, not wanting signs that we may see the resignation of the Government within the present year. A resignation of the Ministry would not necessarily involve the immediate dissolution of Parliament, but it would be a highly probable sequel to such an event.

Had the resolutions, referring to public affairs, of the Scottish Trades' Union Congress, which has just been held at Paisley, reflected the views of the ordinary Liberal or Tory politicians, no doubt considerable

prominence would have been given to those pronouncements. As it is, little or no notice was taken of the proceedings of the Congress outside the *Scottish Press*. It is important, therefore, for Socialists to note that at this Congress, attended by 100 delegates representing the leading Scottish Trade Unions, resolutions virtually endorsing the principles and policy of the political Socialist movement were carried by great majorities.

In particular, it should be noted that the following Socialist resolution was carried by 66 to 8 votes:—"That, in the opinion of the Congress the workers cannot obtain the full value of their labour and avoid strikes until the land, mines, minerals, railways, railway machinery, industrial capital, and all conditions essential to production and distribution are owned and controlled by the State for the people, and as the best means of obtaining these great objects the Congress urges upon all Trade Unions the necessity of using the power of their societies to secure direct and adequate representation of labour in Parliament and all other public bodies."

Also, a resolution concerning the South African War, of which the following are the terms, was carried, 42 voting for it and 22 against:—"That no settlement of the South African difficulty can be permanent or satisfactory that does not guarantee to the people of these territories the right of self-government." Although the wording of the resolution is not expressly against annexation, we are left in no doubt by the tone of the speeches of its supporters, that it was directed against the repression of the two Republics.

Thursday April 25th was a high day or evening for the discussion of Railwaymen's interests in Parliament. The occasion was the consideration of the Great Eastern Railway Bill as amended. Keir Hardie, M.P., moved, and Richard Bell, M.P., seconded the rejection of Clause 27, which deals with the establishment of a Provident Society. A vigorous discussion followed, in the course of which Keir Hardie had repeatedly to rise and correct his critics. Eventually Hardie's amendment was rejected by 213 to 138. On the following Tuesday, however, the whole Bill was thrown out, chiefly on the ground that the Company were neglecting to make provision for the re-housing of the working-class displaced by the Company's operations. A very excellent precedent.

'Slaves cannot live in England.' Nay, that boast
Is but a mockery: when from coast to coast,
Though fettered slaves be none, our floors and soil
Groan underneath a weight of slavish toil.
For the poor many, measured out by rules
Fetched with cupidity from heartless schools,
That to an idol, falsely called 'The Wealth
Of Nations,' sacrifice a people's health,
Body, and Mind, and Soul; a thirst so keen
That ever urges on the vast machine
O! sleepless labour, 'mid whose dizzy wheels
The power least prized is that which thinks and feels.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

The First Socialist Mission.

After the hearty approval given to the new Propaganda Scheme by the Leicester Conference, the N.A.C. felt that steps should be taken to bring the scheme more prominently before the movement and the public generally. Accordingly, at the Council Meeting immediately after the Conference, it was decided to conduct a Trial Mission in one of the industrial centres, so that friends and foes alike might clearly see what kind of work was to be undertaken under the Scheme and might have their interest aroused. For various reasons, which it is unnecessary to detail, Preston was selected as the venue. It was feared that the weather might prove unpropitious for indoor meetings, but, on the other hand, a later period in the summer would undoubtedly be more unfavourable, and it was recognised that Labour Day was not a bad date upon which to inaugurate the new movement.

The local comrades received the offer of a five days' Mission with acclamation, and immediately organised themselves in a sensible manner to make it a success. A captain was appointed for each of the twelve wards, and they gathered round themselves bands of workers to work systematically their respective areas. A large quantity of I.L.P. and anti-war leaflets was sent down from the head office, and these were made up into packets, two or three different leaflets (together with a handbill advertising all the meetings) to a packet, and it speaks well for the energy and enthusiasm of the Preston members that about 18,000 of these bundles were delivered in a little over two days. They were not put through letter boxes or pushed under doors. The people were called to their doors, and the packets were handed to them. About 90 per cent. of the houses in the town were so visited. This wholesale delivery of literature excited much interest, and quite apart from the meetings should produce good results.

Meanwhile extensive advertising was being done in the local papers, and three large posters were put on the walls. The first was a mysterious announcement that a Socialist Mission was to be held in the town on May 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th, and this roused the curiosity of the good people, who wondered what on earth it all meant. The second gave the names of the speakers, including J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Philip Snowden, John Hodge, A. E. Fletcher, J. Bruce Glasier, Pete Curran, Mrs. Glasier, Mrs. Pankhurst, S. D. Shallard, James Parker, and John Penny. The third gave full details as to times and places of the meetings. Posters were also put up in the neighbouring towns and villages. The several placards in various colours all being on the walls together in Preston for the last few days made it quite impossible for anyone with eyes not to realise that a big attack was being made on the town.

On Saturday, April 27th, S. D. Shallard and John Penny arrived in Preston to take charge of the final arrangements. Two capital preliminary meetings were held on the Sunday, at which they both spoke, and swelled the growing tide of interest.

On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, a brass band was sent round the town accompanied by a cart, on which were placed enormous placards calling attention to the meetings. Volunteer bill distributors went along with the band and delivered leaflets to the thousands of people who hurried from the by-streets to see what was the matter.

The speakers on Wednesday were Keir Hardie and John Hodge, the chair being occupied by John Penny. On Thursday, S. D. Shallard was the chairman, and James Parker, Emile Vinck, and Mrs. Glasier were the speakers. Emile Vinck came down specially to take the place of A. E. Fletcher, and he delighted the audience with his quaint but forcible illustrations. The Preston workers seemed to get a real insight into the international character of our movement, and accorded him a hearty reception. On Friday, the speakers were J. Bruce Glasier, Pete Curran and Philip Snowden. Despite the almost tropical heat, the attendances at these meetings were large, and it would be difficult to find words to describe properly the enthusiasm which prevailed.

On Saturday afternoon two open-air meetings were held, one on the Moor and the other in the slums, at which James Parker and John Penny were the speakers, F. Ogle, of the Preston branch, taking the chair on both occasions. In the evening there was a tea, concert, and dance in the I.L.P. rooms which were packed almost to suffocation point. "Dangle" arrived from the Isle of Man and had a great reception.

On Sunday the speakers were Keir Hardie and Mrs. Pankhurst. A. Collis, of Preston, presided in the afternoon over an immense meeting on the Market Place, while John Penny was chairman over a similar gathering in the evening. At the latter meeting there

were loud and repeated calls for "Dangle" which he was unable to refuse, and he delivered a characteristic oration.

Preston comrades are deserving of the highest commendation for the way in which they worked for the success of the Mission. Leaflet distributors, literature-sellers, collectors, and speakers carried through their respective tasks with ability and enthusiasm. There was not a hitch from start to finish, and the business-like methods at the meetings must have made an impression on the business men of the town that the Socialists knew how to do some things well. The women members worked equally with the men, and even the children performed many useful services with evident enjoyment.

A special word is due to the choir. The members, numbering about fifty, turned up promptly at the meetings, and under the conductorship of Mr. J. Brady, rendered glees and part-songs in a way which delighted the audience, and gave a splendid tone to the proceedings.

The local press gave us considerable attention, leading articles and reports of varying length. One paper gave a column alone to Snowden's Friday night's speech: The *Lancashire Daily Post* gave good reports each evening,—a column report of Wednesday's meeting, and another quarter column containing an explanation and retraction of an inaccurate statement concerning Hardie made by the paper's London Correspondent. This paper also devoted a friendly leading article to the Mission, the point of which was that the Socialist in the valuable capacity of Agitator is giving way to the Socialist in the yet more valuable capacity of Statesman.

The Mission in Preston has been a success. The members and speakers proved to the public that they had a cause at heart and a message to deliver, and the public, which is always impressed by sincerity, recognises that one party at least stands for righteousness in all social and political affairs. The Mission must be repeated in every other industrial centre. The workers, the speakers, and the enthusiasm are at our disposal. Let us have the funds, and the indifference, the apathy and selfishness of the British workers shall be swept away like clouds before the rising sun.

Obituary.

THE LATE PAUL BLAND.

Paul Bland, one of the early band of Socialists in Bradford, and one to whom the success of the I.L.P. in Bradford was largely due, died on April 12th, at the age of 46. He was unexcelled, perhaps, in the movement as a constant and most tactful active worker, and was ever relied upon as one of the leading organisers at election times. On at least two occasions he was a municipal candidate of the Party, and polled very large votes. During the past two years he chiefly devoted himself to organising the Gas Workers' Union in the neighbourhood, in which work he was exceedingly successful. His funeral was largely attended by trades unionists and Socialists, and a funeral address in connection with his interment was given by the Rev. R. Roberts in the Labour Church on Sunday, April 21st. He leaves a wife and several of a family, in whose behalf the Trades Council is, we understand, raising a fund. His work forms an altogether important part of the achievement of the Bradford Socialist and Labour movement, and his death is widely and deeply regretted.

THE LATE WILLIAM ROBBIE.

William Robbie, the veteran Tyneside Socialist and reformer was buried at Heaton Cemetery on April 9th. During life he had persistently striven to live up to his own high ideals, and had been equally earnest and equally courageous in attempting to realise them for others less fortunate than himself. His generally fine character had endeared him to many, and a remarkably large number of these had thought it fitting to pay a last tribute to his memory by attending the obsequies. These included (relatives apart) members of the Sons of Temperance, the Newcastle branch of the Independent Labour Party, and the amalgamated Society of Engineers, to which organisation deceased had belonged, and which he had strenuously supported. There were some hundreds present, and the procession, for most came on foot, was far-reaching indeed. The ceremony of committing the dead to the earth was performed by the Rev. W. E. Moll, of St. Philip's Church, who was accompanied by his two curates. A unanimous resolution of respect for our deceased comrade and sympathy with his relatives was passed by the Annual Conference at Leicester.

Election Results.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

Bishop Auckland	J. Gowland	Gain	708
Bolton	Mrs. Pearce	Not elected	261
Bradford	Ald. F. W. Jowett	Re-elected	Unopposed
"	Dr. Munroe	"	"
"	E. Halford	Gain	"
"	J. H. Palin	"	"
"	Miss J. Varley	"	"
Bramley	Mrs. Haywood	Not elected	209
Gateshead	A. Inkson	"	617
"	Downing	Not elected	505
Grimsby	Fred Smith	"	313
Halifax	Mrs. Taylor	Re-elected	"
Holbeck	A. Bannister	Not elected	176
"	"	Gain	Co-opted
Holborn	Mrs. Penny	Not elected	99
Halifax	J. Sowood	Gain	618
Huddersfield	Mrs. L. Shaw	Not elected	122
"	W. Wheatley	"	174
"	E. Whitely	"	126
"	F. C. Key	"	189
Keighley	Mrs. Roe	"	538
Manchester	T. H. Gunning	Gain	Unopposed
Merthyr	R. J. Wilson	"	956
Nelson	Mrs. Cooper	"	679
Newcastle	Mrs. Lucas	Not elected	217
Norwich	D. H. Thompson	"	76
"	Scott	"	117
"	H. Witard	"	170
Oldham	Dawson	"	295
Oswestry	T. H. Hignett	Gain	Unopposed
Rochdale	R. Thompson	"	316
South Shields	Batey	Re-elected	Unopposed
Sunderland	H. Lynas	Loss	220
West Bromwich	F. Hughes	Not elected	351
Wharfedale	Stone	Loss	299
Workington	P. Berry	Re-elected	171
"	W. Holmes	Loss	99
"	A. Stanton	Re-elected	147
"	H. Watts	Gain	Unopposed
"	P. Walls	"	256
Keighley	Mrs. Pickles	"	494
"	J. H. Scruton	Not elected	415
Yarmouth	J. M. Headley	Gain	468
York	Mrs. Mary Garrett	"	Unopposed
Total votes			
Gains			
Losses			
Re-elected			
Not elected			

COUNTY COUNCILS.

Glamorgan	Martin	Not elected	144
Cumberland	P. Walls	Re-elected	Unopposed
Kent	W. J. Lewington	Not elected	319
West Riding	G. Gartside	Re-elected	Unopposed

ELECTIVE AUDITORS.

Ashton-under-Lyne	W. P. Lodge	Re-elected	Unopposed
Preston	Ogle	Not elected	193
Salford	W. Hunt	Re-elected	Unopposed

PARISH COUNCILS.

Alverston	J. Neate	Not elected	17
"	G. Williams	"	11
Clifton	T. Walsh	Gain	Unopposed
Great Baddow	W. Harper	Not elected	24
Hadley	W. N. Kirby	Loss	"
Limpsfield	F. E. Green	Gain	"
Mangotsfield	F. Conybeare	Elected	"
"	J. H. Latrobe	"	"

RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS.

Guesborough	J. B. Stubbs	Gain	Unopposed
Great Baddow	W. Harper	Not elected	10
Redwick	G. Williams	"	19
Thornbury	E. Cullimore	"	"
"	J. H. Alpess	Re-elected	Unopposed

SCHOOL BOARDS.

Larkhall	T. Sharp	Gain	283
Merthyr	Martin	Not elected	4353
Southampton	W. Bonner	Re-elected	"
Yeadon	T. Chadwick	"	581

URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILS.

Kettering	Percy Wallis	Not elected	300
"	W. Dyson	Re-elected	318
"	W. Taylor	"	300
Gillingham	W. J. Lewington	Loss	225
"	J. S. Chapman	Not elected	168
East Ham	A. E. Chuter	"	295
Kingswood	J. Gardiner	"	"
Spennymoor	Kit Hardy	"	73
Shildon	Kidd	Gain	128
"	Z. Cragg	Re-elected	130
"	Scarff	Not elected	55
"	Brass	"	44
Merthyr	Joe Caughlin	"	905
Crook	J. Gowland	Re-elected	345
Brighouse	Firth	Not elected	128
"	Rawlinson	"	100
Farsley	Joe Walker	"	157
Thornhill Lees	J. Sykes	Re-elected	467
"	P. A. Ross	Loss	262
Whitley	G. Senior	Re-elected	48
Irlam	A. H. Turner	Gain	147
Sutton-in-Ashfield	T. Bristol	Not elected	188
Willesden	W. J. Pincombe	Re-elected	516
Pendlebury	M. Tynan	Not elected	236

Local Veto and Municipalisation.

PHILIP SNOWDEN AGAIN DEBATES.

Philip Snowden, whose success as a debater is gaining him almost as much distinction as his success as a Parliamentary candidate, has once again been engaged in an important public tournament. This time his services were requisitioned by the Burnley S.D.F., and his opponent was Mr. Wm. Pearson, of the United Kingdom Alliance. The debate took place in the Burnley Mechanics' Hall, and was of two nights duration. On the first evening the subject was "Is the policy of the United Kingdom Alliance, that is, prohibition by means of the local veto, worthy of the support of temperance reformers?" Mr. Pearson the affirmative, and Philip Snowden the negative. On the second evening the subject chosen was "Shall we municipalise the liquor traffic?" Philip Snowden affirming the proposition and Mr. Pearson contesting it. The debate attracted crowded audiences, especially on the second night, and the *Burnley Gazette* devoted six columns to a report of the fray. Snowden, in discussing the question, rightly observed a sympathetic attitude towards the social aims of temperance reform, and, needless to say, he, in our opinion, quite triumphantly proved the case for municipalisation. It is significant that Mr. Pearson felt it necessary to adopt the extraordinary course of holding an extra meeting of his own in the same hall on the evening following the debate, for the purpose of trying to improve his position, and assailing that of his opponent in his opponent's absence.

CITY BRANCH PAMPHLETS.

- No. 1.—**The Independent Labour Party** : What it is, and where it stands. One Penny.
- No. 2.—**Labour Laws for Women** : Their reason and their results (3rd Edition). One Penny.
- No. 3.—**Imperialism** : Its meaning and its tendency. One Penny.
- No. 4.—**Commercialism and Child Labour** : An indictment and some remedies. One Penny.
- No. 5.—**William Morris**. By J. W. MACKAIL, Author of the *Life of William Morris*. One Penny.

Crammed with facts ; useful for propaganda ; invaluable to students.

I.L.P. Office, 53, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

MONTHLY REPORT FROM HEAD OFFICE.

APRIL, 1901.

- 70 Branches paid Fees in April.
 57 „ sent reports without fees.
 14 „ pay fees quarterly.
 55 „ sent neither fees nor reports.

The income of the Head Office during April was :—

Affiliation Fees	£12 16 0
National Branch	0 10 0
Leicester Conference	42 1 0
Cash Sales	12 2 5
Propaganda Fund	5 0 0
Debt Fund	0 13 9
Sundries	7 9 10½
	£80 13 0½

The Branch Report Sheet for April must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

CONSTITUTION.—Copies of the Constitution of the Party may be obtained from Head Office, price Fourpence per dozen, post free. Pence Cards are supplied at the same price. Samples on application.

NATIONAL BRANCH.—The National Branch of the I.L.P. is open to Socialists who endorse the objects and methods of the Party, but who are unable, through geographical or other difficulties, to join a local Branch. Members of the National Branch receive copies of all the official publications of the Party. Subscriptions for the year 1901 are now due, and should be sent to the Head Office. The amount of subscription is left to the discretion of the member.

OUR ELECTED PERSONS.—We are at all times glad to hear what ~~our elected persons~~ public bodies are doing. If comrades will supply us with reports or marked copies of newspapers containing records of their work, we shall be very greatly obliged.

UNATTACHED SYMPATHISERS.—Branches are recommended to prepare lists of known sympathisers in their districts. Such people should be asked to subscribe to the funds of the Party if they cannot see their way to become members. A printed form of invitation may be obtained from the Head Office, price 1s. 6d. per 100, post free.

NEW BRANCHES.

NEW CUMNOCK.—Secretary, John Sloan, Afton Bridgend, New Cumnock.

TANTOBIE.—Secretary, John Jeffrey, 1, Unity Terrace, Tantobie, R.S.O., Durham.

NEW SECRETARIES.

DERBY.—A. Jackson, 38, Normanton Road, Derby.

FINSBURY.—Francis Johnson, 5, Woodbridge Street, Clerkenwell.

PRESTON.—C. F. Jackson, 23, South Meadow Lane, Preston.

SPEN VALLEY S.S.—W. Fairburn, Quarry Road, Millbridge, Liversedge.

TOTTENHAM.—C. E. Brown, 13, Collingwood Road, Clyde Road, Tottenham.

Branch Fees and Reports.

The following Branches paid Fees in April :—

Arbroath 2s. 6d., Ayr 1s. 3d., Ayrshire Central 5s., Barnsley 7s. 10½d., Bedlinog 5s. 6d., Birmingham West 3s., Blackburn 6s. 3d., Bolton 5s., Bootle 3s. 7d., Brechin 1s. 6d., Bromley 1s. 7d., Cam-lachie 5s., Carnoustie 7d., Clapham 3s. 6d., Clydebank 5s., Consett 2s. 6d., Crook 2s. 6d., Dalsfer Lanward paid, Darlington 2s. 6d.,

Dowlais 3s. 4d., East Ham 1s. 4d., Edinburgh 17s. 8d., Failsworth 5s., Farnworth 5s., Farsley 2s. 1d., Finsbury 2s. 6d., Gillingham 1s. 2d., Glossop 3s., Gloucester 2s. 4d., Gloucestershire South 2s. 6d., Hawick 1s. 6d., Hexham 6d., Holbeck 1s. 2d., Huddersfield 1 9s. 2d., Kensington North 1s. 6d., Kilmarnock 2s. 6d., Langley Mill 2s. 6d., Lesmahagow 1s., Littleborough 2s. 6d., Liverpool 7s. 6d., London City 5s., Mexborough 1s. 3d., Middlesbrough 3s. 4d., Milnsbridge paid, Motherwell 1s. 8d., New Marske 1s. 6d., Norwich 4s. 6d., Nottingham 6s., Oldham S.S. 2s., Paisley 8s. 4d., Pendle-bury 4s. 6d., Pontypridd 1s. 1d., Portsmouth 2s. 6d., Rishton 1s. 6d., Rotherham 3s., St. Helens S.S. 2s. 6d., Salford North 4s. 2d., Salford West 3s. 4d., Shildon 1s. 8d., South Shields 2s. 6d., Sowerby 6s., Stockton 4s. 2d., Sunderland 15s., Sutton-in-Ashfield 10d., Tantobie 10d., Thornaby 1s., Tottenham 1s. 6d., Warrington 3s. 6d., Wolverhampton 5s., Ystalyfera 1s. (70)

The following Branches sent Reports without Fees :—

Abertillery, Annfield Plain, Ashton, Bermondsey, Birkenhead, W. Birmingham, Bordesley, Bradford, Bridgeton, Cheltenham, Cleckheaton, Crosskeys, Darwen, Derby, Fulham, Gateshead, Glasgow City, Govan, Grantham, Hackney, Halifax, Hartlepool, Hollinwood, Horwich, Hull, E. Hunslet, Hutchinsontown, Keighley, Kettering, Leeds C., Leeds N., Leicester, Longwood, Lye, Mac-sycwmmmer, Manchester, Merthyr Vale, Newcastle, New Cumnock, Ossett, Oswestry, Penydarren, Preston, Rochdale, Rothwell, Rutherglen, St. Pancras, Shrewsbury S.S., Southampton, Spen Valley, Stockport, Wellington S.S., N. West Ham, S. West Ham, Woolwich, Yarmouth, Yeaddon: (57)

The following Branches pay Fees Quarterly :—

Armley, Attercliffe, Barrow, Brighouse, Colne Valley, Crewe, Felling, Long Eaton, Nelson, Openshaw, St. Rollox, West Bromwich, Worthington, York. (14)

The following Branches sent neither Reports nor Fees :—

Aston, Berkeley, Blantyre, Burslem, Bury, Cardiff, Chester, Chesterfield College, Cowdenheath, Cowling, Crosshills, Doncaster, Dudley, Dundee, Earlestown, Elland, Eccles, Greenwich, Grimsby, Heckmondwike, Hyde, Inverness, Kirriemuir, Leith, Limehouse, Macclesfield, Mansfield, Middleton, Montrose, Mossley, Musselburgh, Newport, Normanton, Oakengates, Oakworth, Oldham C., Partick, Peckham, Pudsey, Spen Colliery, Spennymoor, Stalybridge, Stewarton, Stroud, Thornhill Lees, Townhill, Tradeston, Tyldesley, Vale of Leven, Walkden, Walsall, Wednesbury, Werneth, Wishaw. (55)

OTHER CASH RECEIVED IN APRIL.

Leicester Conference: Delegates' Fees.—Rothwell 1 5s., Brighouse 1 5s., Horwich 1 5s., Huddersfield 1 5s., Camlachie 1 5s., Manchester 1 6s., West Salford 1 5s., Glasgow City 1 5s., Portsmouth 1 5s.; Armley, Holbeck, E. Hunslet, Leeds C., Leeds N., 1 2 10s.; Preston 1 5s., Edinburgh 1 2 10s., Newcastle 1 5s., York 1 5s., Clapham 1 5s., London City 1 5s., Rutherglen 1 5s., Ayr Central and Ayr Burghs 1 2 10s., East Ham 1 5s., Hollinwood 1 5s., Southampton 1 5s., Spectators' Tickets 1 2 10s., Leicester I.L.P. Donation (profit on tea, dinner, and concert) 1 5s. Total 1 42 1s.

Sales.—Penydarren 7s. 6d., Manchester 1 5s. 4d., Bootle 9s. 4d., Middlesbrough 10½d., Leicester 15s., Brechin 1s. 6d., Derby 4s. 8d., Clydebank 7s., Huddersfield 5s., London City 4s., Stockton 2s. 4d., S. Gloucestershire 1s. 11d., Motherwell 10½d., Dowlais 3s. 1d., Consett 10½d., Edinburgh 9s. 9d., Paisley 3s. 9d., Thornaby 10s. 1d., Hollinwood 1s. 3d., West Birmingham 2s., Gillingham 10½d., Sowerby 9s. 4d., Carnoustie 6d., Norwich 4s. 6d., Bromley 11d., South Shields 10½d., Liverpool 13s. 7d., Bridgeton 5s. 3d., Tantobie 1s. 2d., Sunderland 1s. 6d., Cash Sales 1 4 7s. 9½d. Total 1 12 2s. 5d.

National Branch.—Mrs. Pankhurst 10s.

Propaganda Fund.—W. Marshall 1 5s.

Debt Fund.—G. W. 3s. 9d., Littleborough I.L.P. 6s., Santa Claus 6d., O. Jenkins 1s., Langley Mill I.L.P. 2s. 6d. Total 13s. 9d.

Sundries.—Elected Persons' Conference 1 3 5s., Penrhyn Quarrymen Fund 1 3 10s. 3d., Mrs. Pankhurst 10s., J. R. M. 3s. 6d., A. F. 1½d., W. Stevens 1s. Total 1 7 9s. 10½d.

JOHN PENNY.

I.L.P. NEWS.

THE MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

No. 52. Vol. V.

JULY, 1901.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

Is Tolstoy Inconsistent?

BY ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE.

In the June issue of the I.L.P. News, J. Bruce Glasier has a leading article the keynote of which is the glorious inconsistency of the great Russian teacher, with especial reference to his recent appeal to the Czar. But throughout the whole article I can find no proof of real inconsistency. Every statement of the kind only shows that his opinions have changed and developed during his whole life—as those of every independent thinker must change—and that his earlier *acts* are often opposed to his later *opinions* and *beliefs*. Not one fact is given to prove that Tolstoy has ever deliberately acted in opposition to the principles he held at the time. Probably, no living individual has more earnestly sought after the principles which should determine conduct, and, having arrived at what he believes to be such guiding principles, has so earnestly and so unselfishly adopted them to regulate his own life.

And the one special act which is supposed to form the culminating point of his inconsistency—his appeal to the Czar—is on the contrary perfectly consistent with all his later teachings; and it is to me very strange that neither Bruce Glasier, nor other writers who have expressed the same view, have seen this. For, what is this Appeal? If carefully read it will be seen that it is wholly and entirely in accordance with the fundamental principle of anarchism—the principle that government by force is wholly evil and is the source of almost all the unhappiness and misery of humanity. In accordance with this great principle he urges the Czar to forbid certain oppressive governmental acts, to repeal some of the most oppressive laws, and to abolish some of the most unjust, cruel, and degrading punishments. In no one case, so far as I remember, does he ask the Czar to do any one thing for the people, but simply to remove some of the fetters with which he has bound them, to leave them a little more free to do things for themselves. And yet Bruce Glasier can so mistake this grand appeal as to write—"The appeal to the Czar is an appeal to the State, and Tolstoy in issuing it has abandoned his anarchism. He has abandoned the principle that we must look to individual conversion and sanctification of life as the sole means of social regeneration, and he has thus definitely conceded the inutility of the central precept of his own Tolstoyan and anti-political creed." Here are strong and positive statements without any reference to facts in support of them, and, I venture to say, wholly opposed to the facts. Tolstoy advocates non-resistance, but he does *not* advocate dumb acquiescence in wrong. He maintains that the whole fabric of compulsory government is wrong and evil, but he never teaches that it is wrong even to ask the head of the State to undo some of

its evil acts and allow the people a little opportunity to better their condition, to work out their own salvation. And he wisely limits himself to asking the repeal of a few only of the worst and most oppressive of the governmental acts which a just and humane man, even though a Czar, might be supposed to be able to see were not only tyrannical and cruel, but absolutely useless. Where is the inconsistency here? Where is the abandonment of principle? On the contrary, it is the appeal to pure anarchism. Tolstoy says, in effect,—"You think repressive and penal laws are necessary. I call your special attention to certain enactments, official acts and punishments, which, on consideration, you must see to be quite useless, very cruel, and highly injurious. Abolish these, and you will find that what I say is true. The people will be happier and more peaceable without them." If this appeal were successful—as it yet may be—it would bring about the first instalment—a very small and insignificant instalment but of vital importance as a matter of principle—of the abolition of government by force; in other words the first step towards Anarchism.

In conclusion, I wish to say that I am a great admirer, though by no means a disciple, of Tolstoy. On several points I differ from him. He is sometimes unfair to his opponents, though this is usually from imperfect knowledge. But of all modern teachers he is, to my mind, the one against whom the charge of inconsistency can with the least justice be made.

We socialists should especially be careful in depreciating the work of the great thinker and moralist who is doing more than any other living writer to expose the evils of all government by force, and who maintains, as we do, that human nature is even now good enough and sensible enough, by voluntary combination, to protect itself against evil doers and to work out its own moral and physical well-being. I am myself wholly opposed to any attempt to establish a compulsory socialism (the very term is self-contradictory) as to all other governments by force, and I owe this conviction mainly to Tolstoy. Here, as in Russia, what we need first, is the repeal of bad laws, and especially of all those laws which either enforce or permit the existence of privileged classes, and of any inequality of opportunities as between man and man. Just in proportion as we are relieved from the most oppressive of the bonds and shackles with which our government binds our bodies and our minds, shall we adopt that system of voluntary co-operation for production as well as for all other useful purposes which will inevitably result, by a natural process of development, in a true Co-operative Commonwealth. In all this teaching we should hail Tolstoy as a master, and as a co-worker with us for the salvation of down-trodden humanity; and we should therefore be especially careful to avoid any unjust criticism, or any depreciation of his life and work which may tend to diminish their influence for good.

It is for this reason alone that I venture to oppose my view to that of so good a socialist as Bruce Glasier, and to maintain that, among all the great moral and political teachers of our age, Leo Tolstoy is among the greatest, if not the very greatest of all, that he is the most truly consistent in his life and conduct, and therefore the most worthy of our admiration and respect. We need not hold him to be infallible. He should not be exempt from criticism. But when we do criticise we should deal with important matters only, and above all things we should avoid dwelling upon vague generalities which, while not affecting the great question of the truth or error in his main contentions, yet tend to diminish his influence upon the rising generation.

A charge of almost universal inconsistency between his principles and his conduct, if well founded, must certainly have this effect, and I have therefore thought it my duty to say a few words to show, that on the main point, the address to the Czar, and I believe also on most if not all other points, the charge is an unfounded one.

A Note of Explanation.

The foregoing contribution from the pen of Alfred Russell Wallace adds greatly to the interest of the present issue of the *I.L.P. News*; and I need not assure our comrade, whose life-work as a naturalist and social reformer reflects so much lustre upon our Socialist comradeship, that any words of his will be read with deep interest and respect by us all. I feel doubtful, however, if I should entice into further controversy in this little paper one whose time and energy are so valuable. I shall, therefore, only refer to a few points in the hope that the issue raised by my article, which Dr. Wallace disputes, may be made clearer between us.

And first let me say that I acknowledge to the full the immense genius of Tolstoy. In point of sheer mental capacity and moral bigness, he stands out among the greatest figures of the present-day world. Nor does the circumstance that he intuitively postures in the prophet-garb of humility lessen to my mind his positive greatness as a teacher. It is, indeed, because I recognise the inordinate persuasiveness of Tolstoy's character and writings that I was tempted to write the article to which Dr. Wallace has, in quite kind terms, taken exception. Nor was it my intention to deny that Tolstoy has striven sincerely enough to shape his conduct into conformity with his creed. What I tried to do, briefly, rather was to show that his effort to do that was an impossible one, because indeed his creed itself is impossible as a practical theory of conduct in organised society.

There may be, in the Tolstoyan sense, a kingdom of God within us and without us, but there is a kingdom of the devil within and without us, also. This kingdom of the devil is the kingdom of individual self, and the kingdom of God is the kingdom of the social self derived from society or social culture. It is not, therefore, by believing that all that he regards as good within himself is God that a man attains to his humanity or godlikeness, but by enlarging his whole self with the interest, intelligence, sympathy, and admiration aroused by association with his fellows without. Tolstoy's persuasion, therefore, to concern ourselves with the little acquired good

within us is a persuasion fraught with peril of atrophy to our moral nature. And, indeed, we are not lacking evidence in our own day and our land that many evangelicals, Christian and Tolstoyan, speedily become sadly selfish and unpleasant neighbours.

That Tolstoy himself is, in the main, a highly socialised and humane man is, I contend, because he is in himself and in his career and works not a product of himself or his creed, but a product of the social culture and social statutes of the age and the sphere in which he has lived. Had he been born an ignorant Russian peasant—not to speak of an Australian aboriginal—needless to say he never would have been Leo Tolstoy.

It is, therefore, our social habitat or environment that is all important; not merely the little environment that we can alter with the immediate touch of our hands or reach of our voice—but the environment of the Nation—of the world itself, which we can only alter, moralise, and improve by national and international effort. And to do that most effectually we must co-operate in our capacity as citizens. Collective effort to alter collective conditions—that, as my friend, Dr. Martin, puts it, is the sum of all social progress. And that is political action.

It is through the State, which is our collective selves—not through our isolated individual selves—that the State, which is all of us, can be saved.

This Tolstoy has realised, despite his anarchism; hence his appeal to the State. Nor does it essentially matter whether he appeals to members of heads of the State as individuals, so long as he appeals to the State or society at all. Nor, further, does it matter whether he appeals only to the negative power of the State—asking the State merely to cease to act wrongfully by abolishing bad laws or privileges, or whether he appeals to the positive power of the State to make good laws. For every negative action involves a positive one. Thou shalt not be unjust, and thou shalt be just, are one and the same. The very giving and allowing of national freedom of any kind institutes a State law.

I hope I have made clear to Dr. Wallace that speaking of Tolstoy's inconsistency I was making "no railing accusation" against him.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

PROFITS EXCEED CAPITAL.

The seventh ordinary general meeting of J. Lyons & Co., Ltd., was held at the Trocadero Restaurant, London, on June 6th, under the presidency of Mr. Joseph Lyons, who said they would be able to form some idea of the gigantic turnover of the company when they saw that the gross profits for the year amounted to the sum of £297,435, and when they took into consideration the fact that the paid-up capital was £270,000, they would agree that on a moderate tariff such as theirs to arrive at a gross profit so much in excess of the capital spoke volumes for the possibilities of the business. The board had already distributed an interim dividend at the rate of 22½ per cent. per annum, and they recommended to-day a final dividend at the rate of 30 per cent. per annum for the last half-year.

For, after all, a railway, school board, rise in the world, athletic sports, in which professionals contend for gate money, cricket and polo, gin, beer, and fun, with snobbism and cads, a "smart set," interest in the welfare of mankind, nice taste in literature, with strainings at the circulating library for the first reading of "Red Porridge" and the like, do not exactly constitute a life. And so it seems to me that the introduction of our northern life, our railways, steamboats, cotton mills, and class distinctions, comes but as a curse to those whose lives nature intended to progress upon other paths.—R. B. Cunningham-Graham, in the *Saturday Review*.

A Socialist Eirenicon to the Temperance Party.

Philip Snowden's frequent platform encounters with the Temperance Party have evidently not soured his spirit or hardened his heart against Temperance reformers or their aims. In *Democracy* for June 8th he writes what must be regarded as a very generous and, we might add, a bold pronouncement in favour of the Temperance agitation. The next popular agitation, he declares, will be for Temperance reform. He observes signs that as soon as attention is diverted from South Africa the temperance organisations will put forth a supreme effort to carry Lord Peel's recommendations. He is doubtful, however, whether if left to the Temperance Party and their Liberal sympathisers in Parliament even these moderate reforms will be carried. "It is to be hoped," he says,

that, taught by experience, advantage will be taken of the coming periodic agitation for temperance reform to concentrate all sympathetic opinion, and endeavour to secure such legislation as, when carried out, will do all that direct legislation can do to lessen the appalling evils of intemperance.

According to Councillor Snowden, the Temperance Party has a grievance against Socialists. The Socialists have too often insisted that there was no drink problem at all, that the drink evil was merely a contingent result of our economic conditions. The Socialist, on the other hand, has a grievance against the teetotaler who but seldom allows that there is any social problem outside the drink question.

In summing up the position, Councillor Snowden makes the following interesting and, as some of our friends will no doubt think, somewhat daring statement!

Great efforts have been made during the past few years to join the Socialist, Labour, Trade Union, and Co-operative movements for social reform purposes. But the Temperance Party, which is more militant than, and quite as strong as, any of these as a political force, is ignored. If the social reformer wants his own temperance proposals carried out, he must conciliate the temperance party. And this can be done. The social reformer must remove the temperance man's suspicion that he is a friend of publicans and an abettor of drunkenness. The temperance man is not so much opposed to municipalism as wedded to local veto. Convince him that local option is an integral part of the municipalisation proposals, and his opposition is removed. The two most influential men in the United Kingdom Alliance have withdrawn their opposition to municipalisation. I am convinced, from a very considerable acquaintance with public feeling on this question, that there is not another question on which so great a volume of public support, drawn from all parties, could be obtained as in favour of tentative experiments in the municipal control of the liquor traffic.

We cannot expect the temperance party to give up their proposals. There is no need for it. They would, as has been indicated, be incorporated in any scheme of democratic control. But I am convinced that, if social reformers will use to the best advantage the opportunity which the coming boom in temperance agitation will give them, the aims of the temperance party and of the social reformers in regard to temperance reform might be realised; and the energies of the temperance party would be liberated for other reform work. The coming agitation will be that tide in the temperance movement which, if taken at the flood by the joint effort of all sympathetic to temperance reform, will lead to fortune. If the opportunity be neglected, another will be added to the long list of fruitless agitations, and the history of reform movements will remain the record of the wrecks of well-intentioned but misdirected efforts.

The General Secretary has been visiting Norwich, where he addressed two large public meetings and held a conference with the branch on the question of the parliamentary representation of the city.

Hodge and His Pastors.

The *Commonwealth* is the title of a magazine, edited by Canon Scott Holland, and read mainly by High Church Anglicans who are also mildly inclined to "the higher criticism" and to Socialism. In some recent numbers there have been some striking admissions. A Mr. R. A. Bray, a lay member of the Anglican Church, complains that the clergy are not specially trained for their work, that they have no knowledge of philosophy, and do not know which of the many kinds of Christian Gospel they intend to teach, and that they have no opinions on matters social, economic, and political. "The oracles are dumb." They shirk the problems of empire; "for the most part they are ignorant of the existence of such a thing as a social problem." Their sermons "may well be defined as the method of concealing from others the total absence of thought." Canon Scott Holland takes up the depressing tale, and confesses that the church is "sterile of great characters," that the tyrannous power of landlords and brewers keeps growing, and that the English tolerate extravagance and incompetence in the ruling classes, and distrust education and intellect. He quotes from *Dismal England* as to the state of the chemical workers.

The Rev. Charles Marson has depicted village life in a series of articles lurid with unwelcome accuracy and realism. He shows that all the best men leave the villages because of the low wages, bad houses, vile food, and the tyranny and scorn towards the labourer on the part of squire and farmer. Who remain behind? The stupidest, tamest, timidest, the dunces. Hodge is hopeless. He is base, selfish, conceited, cowardly. He hates education, and wants to send his boys to scare crows as early as possible. He will not read books or come to lectures. He is too cowardly to join a union. Clerical work is wasted upon him. He will listen only to some hysterical evangelist, who does nothing to "improve the moral tone." "Every labourer is in debt to the village grocer." "Our sordid, covetous, debauched, suspicious, scowling, stupid villagers are all these things," says Mr. Marson, because the omnipotent middle-class people have willed it so.

Here surely Mr. Marson is a little too sweeping. Hodge is degraded in character because he has been degraded by an unjust economic system, founded and maintained by English landlords, and supported loyally and for centuries by the Anglican clergy. The Statutes of Labourers of King Richard II., the enclosures of Tudor days, the Settlement Act and laws *re* wages and poaching, etc., existed long before the middle classes came into partial authority. Hodge was just as badly off under Protection, Anglican monopoly, and Quarter Sessions, as he is now under Free Trade, competing churches, and County Councils. Only Socialism and education can help him.

J. A. FALLOWS.

Derby I.L.P. held six public meetings and joined four new members in June. Councillor Chaplin, of Leicester, and Councillor Morley, of Halifax, were among the speakers. We are glad to note that Tom Taylor has rejoined the branch, and that good reports of the meetings are given in the *Derby Daily Telegraph*. 11s. 6d. has been sent by the branch to the "Paul Bland" Fund.

Independent Labour Party.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

All inquiries with respect to the I.L.P. should be addressed to the above office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming branches are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

I.L.P. PUBLICATIONS.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Large Poster 65in. by 45in. Deals with the aims and position of the Party. Clearly printed, and easily read. Price, 3s. per doz.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Small Poster. Suitable for window display, size 17½in. by 22½in. Price, 9d. per doz.

Members' Pence Cards.—4d. per doz., post free.

Rules.—To insert in Pence Cards (with rubber bands), 4d. per doz.

CAROLINE MARTYN MEMORIAL LIBRARY.

No. 1. *Politics and the I.L.P.*—By John Edwards. Pamphlet, 16 pp. being the paper read at the Annual Conference, 1897, re-written and enlarged. Price, 1d.

No. 2. *Independent Labour Party*.—Statement of Principles. Leaflet, 4pp. Price, 4s. per 1,000.

No. 3. *A Labour Catechism*.—Leaflet, 4pp., arranged in question and answer form. Price, 4s. per 1,000.

No. 4. *What Boards of Guardians Can Do*.—Leaflet, 4pp., by Mrs. Pankhurst. Price, 4s. per 1,000.

I.L.P. News.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

Subscription Rates: One year, 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month, 1½d. Post free. For advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News," Fleet Street, E.C.

HEAD OFFICE, 53, FLEET STREET, E.C.

No. 52.

JULY, 1901.

The Next General Election.

At the recent meeting of the Administrative Council of the Party held in London it was resolved to invite branches in which parliamentary candidatures have been approved to begin making preparations in view of another General Election. The Council therefore evidently regards the eventuality of a dissolution of Parliament within the next twelve or eighteen months as a more than merely suppository one. Already the Council has had under review a preliminary list of constituencies, and has discussed the General Election policy of the Party. Meanwhile, the Council has approved the running of I.L.P. candidates in the following constituencies: Glasgow, Manchester, Bradford, Leicester, Blackburn, Halifax, Merthyr, Preston, and Dundee—in all of which, except Dundee, I.L.P. candidatures took place at the last General Election. Dundee, although left uncontested by the I.L.P. in the hurry of the last election, has been fought by the Party on two previous occasions. Rochdale and Ashton, the two constituencies in which comparatively small polls were obtained by the Party, have been held over for further consideration. In addition to the above, the Council has marked ten other constituencies as probable fields for

I.L.P. Parliamentary enterprise, viz.: York, Norwich, Wolverhampton, Paisley, Gower, Keighley, Cleveland, Colne Valley, and Gorton. Of these latter, Colne Valley was contested by the I.L.P. in 1895, and Gorton was contested by the I.L.P. in 1895, and by a United Labour candidate at the last election. The list of probable constituencies may yet be increased or diminished.

Even at this early stage in the preparations for the campaign, we would venture to submit to the Party the importance of securing the united and loyal support of the entire movement for a policy of concentration of our forces on carefully selected constituencies, and of allowing the largest possible measure of responsibility for their selection to rest with the Administrative Council. It is, we need hardly say, of supreme importance to the movement that several additional I.L.P. representatives should be returned at the next election to support Keir Hardie in his arduous but splendid efforts to voice the cause of the workers and the principles of Socialism in the parliament of the nation.

It is pitiful to think that only one man pledged unequivocally to Socialism and resolute independence of capitalist organisations should be there to represent the hundreds of thousands of I.L.P. supporters in the constituencies. Is it not possible, we would ask, for the I.L.P. to wield in a better way than has yet been done the great powers it possesses in these same supporters, and with their aid to cleave a way through Liberal and Tory opposition for the admission of I.L.P. representatives into Parliament? We think it is. We think that, if the Party locally and generally were more resolutely agreed to be guided by and to firmly support its Administrative Council in determining finally the number and location of the seats to be contested, the power of each individual member of the Party could be brought on the actual day of election to bear with ten-fold weight on the polls.

In no other way, indeed, can any large victory be ours. By the loyalty of the Party at the last General Election the Administrative Council was able to so concentrate the funds and political forces of the Party as to achieve an immense increase in the votes and political influence of the movement. Had a different policy been adopted, had the branches been encouraged to engage in indiscriminate conflict, the results of our campaign would have been thoroughly depressing. There is nothing that chills public feeling more quickly against a movement than the impression that those engaged in it are mainly actuated by a spirit of irresponsible, self-assertive, and ineffectual combat.

At next election, what with the growth and increasing influence of the party, and with the increasingly critical state of Liberal and Conservative politics, a still more careful and, if we may use the term, masterly disposition of our forces will be necessary if we are to strike effectively at whatever opposition obstructs our way. It is incumbent therefore upon the party to make up its mind that the forthcoming General Election is to be fought by the I.L.P. with a definite plan of campaign, under the leadership of the Party's elected Council. No forcing of the hand of the Party or disarrangement of the order of battle, either by the over-zeal or the recklessness of individual branches must be allowed, and should any action of that kind occur, it must be publicly repudiated and rendered nugatory by the Party.

South West Ham Candidature.

There can be little doubt but that a seat can be won for Socialism in South West Ham if only the Socialists themselves display, as we feel sure they will do, those qualities of public restraint as well as energy which are essential to political achievement. In South West Ham there is provided the right place for a notable Socialist victory, if only the right man be found and the campaign rightly conducted. The constituency is one in which the I.L.P. might fairly lay claim to a prescriptive right of contest. It was won by J. Keir Hardie for Independent Labour principles in 1892, and was only recaptured from him in 1895 by a majority of 775 votes out of a total poll of 8,725. Keir Hardie would undoubtedly have again been the I.L.P. candidate there at last election had he not consented, in the interests of united Labour and Socialism, to give way in the event of the local Trades Council feeling disposed to bring a local Trade Union and Socialist candidate into the field. In response to this declaration on Keir Hardie's part the Trades Council, in conjunction with the Gasworkers' Union and other Labour and Socialist bodies, was induced to bring forward Councillor Will Thorne, one of the most popular Trades Unionists and Socialists in the district. At the General Election poll, however, Will Thorne found himself defeated by 1,176 votes in a total of 10,054, a highly creditable result considering the enormous reactionary influences brought into the contest.

Perceiving the importance of South West Ham as a highly probable seat for Socialism, the Administrative Council of the I.L.P. has looked forward hopefully to the seat being again contested by a Socialist—and one, if possible, whose candidature would enlist the support not only of the Trade Unionists, but of the more thoughtful social reformers, whose votes and support are requisite to success in the division. Nor has the I.L.P. Council felt disposed to urge that precedence should be given in the selection of a candidate to a member of the I.L.P. rather than to a Socialist belonging primarily to any other organisation. It is enough that the candidate should be unequivocally Socialist and anti-war in principle, and that he should owe no allegiance to either Liberal or Tory parties, inside or outside of Parliament.

It appears, however, that for the moment the position in South West Ham has been rushed by the expeditious adoption of Councillor Saunders Jacobs as a joint Socialist candidate by the local I.L.P. and S.D.F. branches. This course has, we understand, provoked some dissatisfaction among a number of bodies whose support is, as we have said, of great importance to the success of the enterprise.

Councillor Saunders Jacobs has earned by his record as a municipal representative good claim to the nomination of the I.L.P. and S.D.F. branches. We prefer, however, for the present to regard his selection as a tentative one. Nor in any case would it be, in our opinion, advisable for the branches referred to, or for Councillor Jacobs himself, to finally resolve upon his candidature until his nomination had been submitted for wider confirmation. This is a principle of universal application in all cases where Trade Unionists are willing to co-operate with us, and where a candidate is being run for a victory and not for a fall. It is especially applicable in the case of South West Ham. We hope,

therefore, that what appears to be regarded as the somewhat precipitate action of the local I.L.P. and S.D.F. in adopting Councillor Jacobs without fuller consultation with the Trades Council and kindred bodies whose support is essential will in no wise prevent a united nomination going forward, or prejudice the excellent chances of a seat being won for Socialism and Labour at the next parliamentary election in South West Ham.

The *Labour Leader* has, we observe, issued a note of warning to I.L.P. branches with respect to a certain W. Gee who is at present acting as S.D.F. organiser in Scotland. Reports have frequently reached us concerning the sayings and doings of this individual which leave us in no doubt as to the advisability of the *Labour Leader* paragraph. Not only are his speeches of a kind that is little calculated to convert people to Socialism, but the persistence of his attacks upon the I.L.P. in public, and his attempts to partition I.L.P. branches, with the view to the formation of S.D.F. branches, render his presence an undesirable intrusion upon I.L.P. platforms.

Another case calling for comment is brought under our notice by a disturbance which took place in connection with a series of I.L.P. meetings held recently at Barrow. According to the local press, the police had to interfere to protect the lecturer and chairman from the violence of the crowd. The cause of this unusual outburst of popular hostility was due, it appears, to the offensive references to religious subjects made by the chairman and the lecturer. The lecturer in question was Mr. E. J. Sale. To many of our readers that circumstance will be sufficiently explanatory of the occurrence. Already Mr. Sale has rendered himself impossible as an I.L.P. lecturer to many branches. We have no hesitation in advising branches that his engagement as a lecturer is not likely to promote the cause of Socialism in their locality.

We have upon more than one occasion drawn attention in these columns to the injury done to the Socialist cause by men of unworthy character or speech occupying our platforms. The cynical dictum of Bernard Shaw that the greatest obstacle to Socialism are the Socialists themselves is certainly applicable in such cases. From time to time men have crept in among us whose personal conduct and method of advocating Socialism have been ill-calculated to convince the people that Socialism or Socialists were things to be greatly desired. In many places the public mind has been turned inveterately against Socialism by occurrences of this kind.

It is surely unnecessary to say that the advocacy of Socialism ought to be reckoned an almost sacred calling, and that no encouragement should be given to speakers who seek to use our platforms for mere oratorical self-indulgence, or for the emission of statements that have nothing but their political vituperation or savour of blasphemy to commend them. We have no desire to see the I.L.P. platform made a narrow one, or to see an inquisition instituted in the I.L.P. branches to investigate the character or opinions of Socialist lecturers or officials. We do, however, say that the main object of our public

propaganda should be kept constantly in view ; and that in asking the people to accept Socialism we should not seek to make their acceptance of Socialism conditional on their also approving either conduct or speeches that are obviously of a kind to bring reproach upon ourselves and our cause.

Nationalisation of the Water Supply.

Some time ago we drew attention to the necessity of the nation taking over control of the sources of the water supply of the kingdom. The matter is of much more importance than at first sight it perhaps appears. Local monopoly of water facilities by municipalities may become a real hardship to the general community. We are glad, therefore, to note that Councillor Chaplin, of Leicester, in the course of a recent lecture at Derby, drew attention to the subject. Councillor Chaplin strongly advocated the nationalisation of water, and recommended that towns and cities should be charged so much per million gallons. This proposal is worth serious consideration. That the nation will require in some way to safeguard the national water resources from unfair distribution to municipalities, as well as to companies and manufacturers, is pretty evident. The enormous cost which conflicting municipal interests in water sources is entailing upon the community is of itself becoming a scandal. Referring to the Derwent Water Scheme, Councillor Chaplin pointed out that it had saddled Derby, Leicester, and other towns with heavy legal expenses that could have been saved if the river supply had been under national control. The nationalisation of the water supply ought to form a frequent theme of reference in Socialist lectures.

What the I.L.P. is Doing.

Attention is drawn to the report of the Administrative Council meeting which appears in another column.

The Administrative Council has suggested to the South Wales branches that a large I.L.P. Demonstration should be held during the summer at Pontypridd or some other suitable place. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., and other members of the Council will take part in the meeting.

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., entertained his colleagues on the Administrative Council, together with Montagu Blathford of the *Clarion*, to tea on Terrace during their recent visit to London. The members of the Council surveyed the confines of their future prison with a somewhat dejected air.

Leicester I.L.P. is establishing committees in every ward of the town. Each ward committee is to be made responsible for the collection of subscriptions within its own electoral area.

The reports from the various London districts given at the recent conference of London members, although showing no great increase in membership, expressed a very hopeful view of the future of the I.L.P. in the Metropolis.

Bootle branch is already making arrangements to hold six well advertised meetings with prominent speakers during the next winter. Meanwhile the branch is steadily pursuing its open-air summer propaganda.

J. R. Macdonald paid an unexpected visit to Leicester and lectured to a big audience on the Market Place on Sunday, June 23rd. On the following Sunday J. Bruce Glasier addressed two large gatherings there, and Mrs. Glasier is to follow with two lectures on Sunday, July 14th.

Obituary.

FLORENCE GROVE.

The Independent Labour Party and the cause of the people have lost a bright earnest spirit and most helpful worker by the death of Florence Grove. In London our late comrade was indefatigable in every work connected with our movement, and she proved in innumerable ways the sincerity of her sympathy with the poor and her affection for the Socialist cause. She was a member of the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society, and it was on her suggestion that the latter body issued its most useful Tenants' Sanitary Catechism leaflets. She served on the Chelsea Board of Guardians for three years, and published a little monthly paper, the *Chelsea Pick and Shovel*. At our annual Conferences she was an eager and friendly figure. The gap which her death leaves in our ranks will not easily be filled.

LARNER SUGDEN.

The town of Leek will long be a place of fame to those who knew the work and discerned the rare intellectual spirit of Larner Sugden, whose death we mournfully record. In that little Staffordshire town, for thirty years, Larner Sugden, architect, hardly ceased day or night to think or plan what he himself might do to help the cause of freedom. We cannot even attempt to indicate with what finely devised effort and patience and courage he kept the lamp of truth burning there all by himself. We can only note that at his own expense he issued, some twenty years ago, the neatly printed *Leek Bijou Reprints*, comprising Ingersoll's "What must I do to be saved," Morris' "Art and Socialism," and other similar, and at that time "dangerous," tracts. In latter years, the Socialist movement—and, latest of all, the anti-war movement—engaged all his spare energy, and it may be said that he literally died fighting for his country's honour and freedom. His funeral took place at the Manchester Crematorium on 21st June, J. Bruce Glasier speaking a few memorial words as the body was committed. At a special service, held on the following Sunday in the beautiful William Morris Labour Church, Leek, of which he was the founder, J. Keir Hardie, M.P., delivered an impressive memorial address.

London Members' Meeting.

In connection with the recent visit of the N.A.C. to London, a special general meeting of members and friends of the I.L.P. was held on Monday evening, June 17th, in Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street. J. Bruce Glasier, chairman of the Party, presided, and all the members of the Administrative Council were present. The gathering was a large and encouraging one. The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, referred to the greatly improved condition of the movement in the provinces, and expressed a hope that, now that the principles and policy of the Party were becoming better understood in London, the I.L.P. movement there would soon become a real political power. Brief reports were then given from the various London districts, after which John Penny moved a resolution in favour of an aggregate meeting of members being held quarterly in London, which meeting would appoint an executive committee, and take into consideration the best means of promoting the general policy and well-being of the Party in London. After some discussion, the original terms of the resolution were amended and agreed to virtually unanimously. In the course of the discussion, J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Alderman Jowett, Councillors Snowden and Parker, and Montague Blathford spoke briefly.

SAD EFFECTS OF PATRIOTISM.

John William Hurst, a constable in the Warrington Police Force, was on June 6th sentenced to six months' imprisonment on charges of stealing a marble clock, value £5, and a stuffed canary, value 10s. The Chief Constable stated that since his return from the front, where he had served ten months as a reservist of the 3rd Grenadier Guards, the prisoner had been rather eccentric in his manner. A few months ago he was on night duty, and the articles named were missed from residences on his beat. Hurst had found the doors insecure, and had purloined the articles before arousing the occupants. Before going to Africa he had been a life-long abstainer, but such had been the mistaken sympathy of local patriots that since returning he had acquired a liking for drink, and this had not agreed with him mentally.

Mr. Hudson (Huddersfield) moved as an amendment—"That it be an instruction to the N.A.C. to organise conferences of all societies in London and the provinces favouring a just settlement in South Africa for the purpose of holding demonstrations in favour of terminating the present iniquitous war in South Africa by conceding the fullest amount of independence to the people of the Transvaal and Orange Free State."

In the voting the amendment was rejected, and the original resolution was then adopted.

CHILD LABOUR.

A short discussion on this subject led to the adoption of the following resolution, moved by Mr. Sheppard (Finsbury), seconded by Mrs. Pankhurst (Manchester): "That this Conference approves of the Government inquiry into the labour of children of school age, and trusts that practical proposals towards its abolition may result. The Conference urges (1) that the Factory and Workshop Act shall be so amended as to bring all children working in domestic industries under factory and workshop regulations; (2) that an Act be passed enabling municipal corporations to pass bye-laws prohibiting child labour in the streets; (3) that the Shop Act be so amended as to prohibit the labour of any child of school age in shops; (4) that pending total abolition, no child of school age be allowed to work without in the first place receiving a certificate from the school attendance authority of the district, and that this certificate should clearly state at what hours and on what days the child should work."

THE PRESS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN.

The Conference adopted the following resolution—"That the great majority of the newspapers of this country, having fallen more and more under the control of the moneyed and monopolist class, have shown a venality during the past two years which would have shocked the pioneers of the free press."

LABOUR IN PARLIAMENT.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., made a report to the Conference on the Parliamentary work of the year, remarking that this report was an innovation which he hoped would prove an interesting annual feature of the Conference. It was well for the Independent Labour party in Parliament that it was thoroughly united—(Laughter). It was not weakened by the dissensions which afflicted other parties. The Liberals, he said, were not even united in their present opposition to the Tory Government. It was this diversity of opinion and interests which paralysed the Liberal party when it was last in office, and which made its present outlook so hopeless. One principle was held in common by Liberal and Radical, Whig and Tory, and that was the maintenance of the present system of wealth production by which the workers were kept in bondage. He declared that the truest representatives of democratic feeling as a party in the House of Commons were the Irish party, a fact which the workers of Britain would do well to recognise—(Applause.) He acknowledged the skill and ability with which the representatives of the trade unionists safeguarded the interests of those they represented. On the part of some there was a growing feeling that in the near future some more vigorous and clear mode of action would be necessary. He was not without hope of seeing a beginning made during the present session of the formation of a distinct and separate labour group—(Applause). A Rosebery-Chamberlain alliance, which he still regarded as one of the certainties of the future, would probably provide the psychological moment for a big development in the political life and thought of the nation. On April 23rd he hoped he would have the opportunity of moving the Socialist resolution of which he had given notice. It would be the first time such a proposal had been submitted to the judgment of Parliament—(Hear, hear.)

The report was accepted, and Mr. Keir Hardie was thanked for his services as the representative of the party in the House of Commons.

THE CAUSE OF RUSSIAN FREEDOM.

On the motion of Mr. Charrington (London), seconded by Mr. Davidson (Edinburgh), a resolution was adopted to the effect that the Conference welcomed the alliance which had taken place for the first time in Russia between the industrial and the student classes in the agitation against the despotism of the Government, expressing abhorrence of the brutal treatment meted out to the reformers, and the opinion that no European Government should receive representatives of the Russian Government so long as its brutalities continued.

STATE-AIDED DRAMA.

Mr. Charrington moved—"That the theatre, being one of the principal means towards a higher civilisation, should not be used merely for purposes of individual profit-grinding, but that its cultivation is a duty which should be undertaken by the community through its representatives, assisted by expert administrators." The mover said it was not a monopoly that was asked for. He pleaded that the theatre was a great educational and civilising force, and by some support of the State might be made exceedingly useful. There was not a country on the Continent that did not subsidise the theatre. Socialists would gain, in his opinion, by the foundation of a really intellectual theatre.—The resolution was seconded and adopted without discussion.

CHINA AND THE WESTERN POWERS.

A resolution was passed in which the Conference expressed the belief that the recent outbreak of violence in China and the murder of Europeans was mainly due to the unscrupulous policies and aggressions of European nations in their dealings with China during the past ten years, expressed its disgust with the unchristian demand for revenge, as apart from protection, denounced the ferocious language of the German Emperor, and condemned the organised looting indulged in by the European troops sent to China, and the cruelties they inflicted on the natives who fell into their hands.

EDUCATIONAL MACHINERY.

It was resolved—"That in view of the possibility of a reconstruction of the educational administrative machinery, this Conference declares that educational affairs should be administered from an educational department by bodies specially elected for that purpose; that a system of education complete, from elementary school to university (including colleges for scientific and technical education), should be established, and that all grants and other income for educational purposes should be clearly set apart and administered by the education authorities, and should be derived from the Imperial Exchequer."

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

On the motion of Mrs. Pankhurst, seconded by Mr. Hobson, the following amended resolution on secondary education was adopted;—"That in view of the judgment recently delivered by the Court of Appeal in the case *Regina v. Cockerton*, declaring that the school boards of England and Wales have no power to defray the cost of the science and art classes or evening continuation schools out of the rates, this Council is of opinion that legislation securing for school boards the right to continue and develop these classes and schools is required immediately."

THE PENRHYN DISPUTE.

Before the Conference adjourned, Mr. Hales (Portsmouth) moved, and it was seconded and resolved without discussion—"That this Conference expresses its admiration of and sympathy with the courageous stand made for the rights of combination now being made by the Penrhyn quarrymen, and strongly recommends the branches to render financial assistance by every means in their power in order that the fight may be carried to a successful issue."

It was decided to meet next year at Liverpool, and the Conference shortly afterwards adjourned.

New N.A.C.

Chairman:

J. BRUCE GLASIER, Chapel-en-le-Frith, via Stockport.

Treasurer:

T. D. BENSON, 8, York Street, Manchester.

Secretary:

JOHN PENNY, 53, Fleet Street, London.

N.A.C.:

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., Old Cumnock, Scotland.
Councillor PHILIP SNOWDEN, 28, Calton Street, Keighley.
J. R. MACDONALD, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.
Councillor JAMES PARKER, I.L.P. Office, Halifax.
S. D. SHALLARD, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, London.
Alderman F. W. JOWETT, 2, Grantham Place, Bradford.

MONTHLY REPORT FROM HEAD OFFICE.

MARCH, 1901.

73 Branches paid Fees in March.
 56 " sent reports without fees.
 14 " pay fees quarterly.
 51 " sent neither fees nor reports.

The income of the Head Office during March was:—

Affiliation Fees	...	...	£22	5	1
Delegate Fees	...	...	56	5	0
Election Fund	...	...	3	17	1
Sales	...	...	10	6	1½
National Branch	...	...	0	15	0
Payment of Member Fund	...	...	0	10	0
Donations	...	...	2	6	2
Sundries	...	...	0	8	4
			£96	12	9½

The Branch Report Sheet for April must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

CONSTITUTION.—Copies of the Constitution of the Party may be obtained from Head Office, price Fourpence per dozen, post free. Pence Cards are supplied at the same price. Samples on application.

NATIONAL BRANCH.—The National Branch of the I.L.P. is open to Socialists who endorse the objects and methods of the Party, but who are unable, through geographical or other difficulties, to join a local Branch. Members of the National Branch receive copies of all the official publications of the Party. Subscriptions for the year 1901 are now due, and should be sent to the Head Office. The amount of subscription is left to the discretion of the member.

OUR ELECTED PERSONS.—We are at all times glad to hear what our members on public bodies are doing. If comrades will supply us with reports or marked copies of newspapers containing records of their work, we shall be very greatly obliged.

UNATTACHED SYMPATHISERS.—Branches are recommended to prepare lists of known sympathisers in their districts. Such people should be asked to subscribe to the funds of the Party if they cannot see their way to become members. A printed form of invitation may be obtained from the Head Office, price 1s. 6d. per 100, post free.

NEW BRANCHES.

DALSERF LANWARD—Secretary, Alex. Harrison, Dunlope Place, Netherburn, by Hamilton.

OSWESTRY.—Secretary, W. W. Swan, 86, Castle Street, Oswestry.

NEW SECRETARIES.

ARMLEY—Mrs. Haywood, 3, Burnsbee Fold, Armley.

ASHTON—W. Armitage, 229, Catherine Street, Ashton-u-Lyne.

CARDIFF—E. L. Gillett, 42, Conway Road, Cardiff.

NEWCASTLE—R. Lucas, 22, Queen Street, Heaton, Newcastle.

SHILDON—W. McKenzie, 17, Pinkneys Row, Shildon.

Sunderland—R. Gunderson, 17, Charles Street, Monkwearmouth, Sunderland.

Branch Fees and Reports.

The following Branches paid Fees in March:—

Arbroath 2s. 6d., Aston 1s., Ayr 1s. 6d., Ayrshire Central 5s., Barnsley 3s. 8d., Birmingham West 3s., Blackburn 6s. 3d., Bolton 5s., Bradford 10s., Brechin 1s. 6d., Bromley 1s. 7d., Camlachie 5s., Cardiff S.S. 1s., Carnoustie 7d., Clapham 3s. 6d., Cleckheaton 6s., Clydebank 5s., College 2s. 6d., Consett 2s. 6d., Crook 2s. 6d., Dalsersf Lanward 12s., Darlington 2s. 6d., Dundee £1 5s., East Ham 1s. 4d., Edinburgh 11s. 9d., Farnworth 5s., Farsley 2s. 1d., Gateshead 6s., Gillingham 1s. 2d., South Gloucestershire 2s. 6d., Govan 4s., Grimsby 1s. 6d., Holbeck 1s. 2d., Hutchesontown 10s., Keighley 6s. 6d., North Kensington 1s. 6d., Kilmarnock 2s. 6d., Lesmahagow 1s., Littleborough 2s. 6d., London City 5s., Long Eaton 10s. 6d.,

Manchester and Salford £2 1s. 8d., Middleton 10s., Milnsbridge £3 7s., Motherwell £1 8s., New Marske 1s. 6d., Norwich 5s., Nottingham 3s., Oldham Central £1 5s., Oldham S.S. 2s., Openshaw £1 5s. 3d., Paisley 8s. 4d., Pendlebury 4s. 6d., Pontypridd 1s. 1d., Portsmouth 2s. 6d., Preston 5s., Rishton 1s. 6d., Rotherham 4s., North Salford 4s. 2d., West Salford 3s. 4d., Shildon 1s. 8d., South Shields 2s. 6d., Stockton 4s. 2d., Sutton-in-Ashfield 10d., Thornaby 1s., Thornhill Lees 16s. 8d., Tradeston 1s. 8d., Warrington 3s. 6d., Wolverhampton 2s. 6d., Woolwich 3s., Workington 3s. 4d., Yeading 1s. 8d., Ystalyfera 1s. (73)

The following Branches sent Reports without Fees:—

Abertillery, Annfield Plain, Ashton-u-Lyne, Birkenhead, Birmingham C., Bootle, Bordesley, Bridgeton, Cheltenham, Colne Valley, Crosskeys, Darwen, Derby, Elland, Eccles, Fulham, Glasgow City, Gloucester, Hackney, Halifax, Hollinwood, Horwich, Hull, East Hunslet, Kettering, Larkhall, Leeds Central, Leeds North, Leicester, Liverpool, Longwood, Lye, Merthyr Vale, Middlesbrough, Newcastle, Ossett, Oswestry, Penyarden, Rochdale, Rothwell, Rutherglen, St. Pancras, Shrewsbury S.S., Southampton, Sowerby, Spen Colliery, Spen Valley S.S., Spennymoor, Stockport, Sunderland, Walsall, Wednesbury, Wellington S.S., West Bromwich, West Ham N., Yarmouth. (56)

The following Branches pay Fees Quarterly:—

Armley, Attercliffe, Barrow, Bednig, Brighouse, Crewe, Felling, Finsbury, Hexham, Huddersfield, Nelson, St. Rollox, West Ham S., York. (14)

The following Branches sent neither Reports nor Fees:—

Berkeley, Bermondsey, Blantyre, Burslem, Bury, Chester, Chesterfield, Cowdenbeath, Crosshills, Doncaster, Dowlaish, Dudley, Earlestown, Failsforth, Glossop, Grantham, Greenwich, Hartlepool, Hawick, Heckmondwike, Hyde, Inverness, Kirriemuir, Langley Mill, Leith, Limehouse, Macclesfield, Maesycwmmmer, Mansfield, Mexborough, Montrose, Mossley, Musselburgh, Newport, Normanston, Oakengates, Oakworth, Partick, Peckham, Pudsey, St. Helens S.S., Stalybridge, Stewarton, Stroud, Tottenham, Townhill, Tyldesley, Vale of Leven, Walkden, Werneth, Wishaw. (51)

OTHER CASH RECEIVED IN MARCH.

Delegate Fees.—Keighley £1 5s., Blackburn £2 10s., Rotherham £1 5s., Workington £1 5s., Consett £1 5s., Warrington £1 5s., Liverpool £1 5s., Nottingham £1 5s., Rutherglen £1 5s., Stockton £1 5s., Colne Valley £1 5s., Hull £1 5s., Ashton-u-Lyne £1 5s., Long Eaton £1 5s., West Birmingham £1 5s., Darlington £1 5s., Openshaw £1 5s., Nelson £1 5s., Thornhill Lees £1 5s., West Bromwich £1 5s., North West Ham £1 5s., College £1 5s., Attercliffe £1 5s., Kettering £1 5s., Leicester £3 15s., S. West Ham £1 5s., Longwood £1 5s., St. Rollox £1 5s., Paisley £1 5s., Pendlebury £1 5s., Bordesley and Birmingham £1 5s., Halifax £5, Bradford £2 10s., City of London £1 5s., Woolwich £1 5s., S. Gloucestershire £1 5s., Finsbury £1 5s., Total £56 5s.

Sales.—Glasgow City 10s. 4d., Keighley 7s. 6d., Mrs. Macdonald 3s. 9d., Manchester and Salford £2 10s. 8d., Lilycroft 3s. 11d., St. Helens 2s., Brechin 1s. 6d., Hexham 1s. 6d., London City 3s. 1d., W. Birmingham 2s., Derby 2s., Darlington 2s. 0d., Horwich 3s., North Salford 4s. 4d., South Gloucestershire 1s. 1d., Gillingham 10s. 4d., Workington 11d., Consett 10s. 4d., Eccles 9s. 8d., South Shields 10s. 4d., Rotherham 10s. 4d., Kilmarnock 8d., Darwen 1s. 6d., Bromley 11d., Paisley 3s. 9d., Woolwich 3s., Stockton 2s. 4d., Oswestry 2s., Long Eaton 2s. 7d., Motherwell 4s. 4d., Edinburgh 3s. 3d., Norwich 4s. 4d., Felling 10s. 4d., Cash Sales £3 12s. 1d., Total £10 6s. 1d.

Election Fund.—Edinburgh £2 3s. 5d., Rutherglen Comrades, per W.M., 7s. 4d.; J. Quinell, collected, 10s. 2d.; F. Jackson, collected, 5s. 4d.; W. Mellor, collected, 4s.; Bruce Ward, 2s. 6d.; W. J. Perkins, 4d.; G. Batten, 4s. Total £3 17s. 1d.

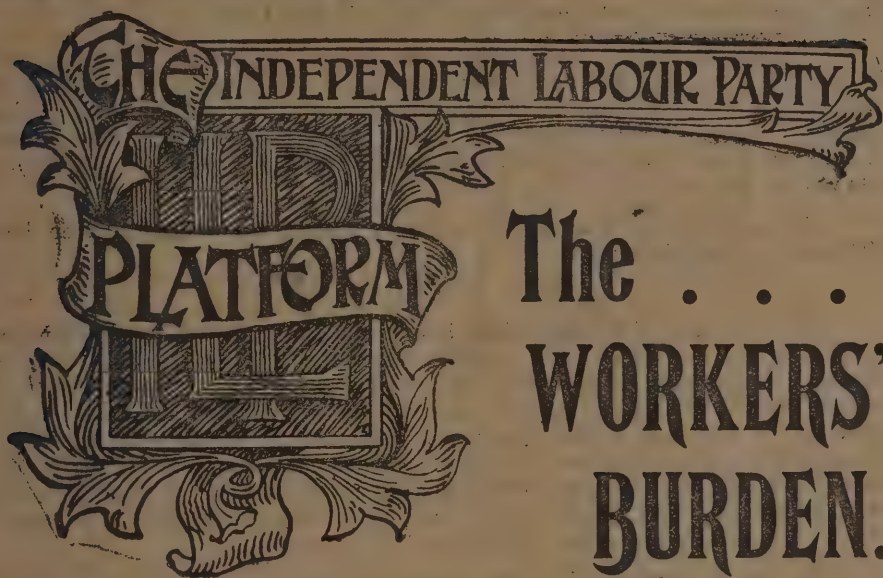
National Branch.—J. Bruce Glasier 5s., Mrs. Glasier 5s., J. Lane 1s., A. Wilson 4s. Total 15s.

Payment of Member Fund.—Mrs. B. Walter-Boxall 10s.

Donations.—W. R. Lester £2, Christian Socialist 2s. 6d., A.F. 1d., Barnsley S.S. 3s. 6d. Total £2 6s. 2d.

Sundries.—W.W. 8s. 4d.

JOHN PENNY.



ALL human beings require food, clothing, and shelter. These are the three prime necessities of life.

The question is, *how* do we get these things that we require?

Everyone surely knows by now that everything we have is produced by the application of labour to raw material.

There are two classes of people in the world: (a) those who work, and (b) those who do not work. It is evident that those who work produce every commodity that we have. Those who do not work produce nothing. If those who do not work have any food or clothing, or have a house over their heads, it is because those who work give them something.

We generally find that those who do not work have the best food, the best clothing, and the best houses. Evidently the workers give a great deal to the non-workers.

As people are not very generous, nowadays, we may well ask *why* do the workers give the non-workers so much? Is it out of charity, or is it because they are compelled?

We have already pointed out that all commodities are produced by the application of labour to raw material. The word "land" is generally employed to cover every kind of raw material. In the British Isles nearly all the land, or raw material, has been appropriated by a set of individuals whom we call "landlords." They own not merely the soil, but the trees growing out of it, the rivers and streams, and the minerals deep down underneath.

Now the worker is quite willing to work to produce things, but he cannot make them out of nothing. He must have the raw material. He finds that all the raw material belongs to the landlord. He finds that he has not even the right to dwell on the land or build his workshop on it. He can move from the estate of one landlord to the estate of another, but he has no right to live anywhere

the British Isles unless he gets the consent of the landlord. If the landlords were to join together they could turn all the people off these Islands.

The landlords do not turn the people off the land. Why? They allow the workers to live on the land and to work up the raw materials, but they charge them for the privilege. The worker has to pay rent. If the worker makes ten tables he has to give the landlord two of them, or the value of two. If workers dig up iron-ore and turn it into steel, the landlord has to have a big share of that steel, or its value in money.

The landlords are non-workers and they compel the workers to keep them. This is the law of the land.



But there are other non-workers besides the landlords. If landlordism were abolished and the workers had the free use of the raw material they could not produce many things. They would require tools or machinery. Every implement which enables the worker to work more rapidly is a machine. A cotton factory with its thousands of looms is only a big machine. A railway with its miles of lines and hundreds of locomotives and waggons is only a machine. In early times, when very little machinery was used, people had to work long and hard to produce simple articles. Now, by the aid of machinery, they can produce very rapidly. We do not want to do without machinery.

But to-day the worker does not own any machinery. It is all owned by a set of people whom we call "capitalists."

The capitalist acts in just the same way as the landlord. He allows the worker to use the machinery, but he takes a toll on all that the worker produces. If the worker makes ten tables, he has to give four of them to the capitalist.



The landlord, then, owns the raw material and can live in idleness. The capitalist owns the machinery and can live in idleness. The worker has nothing, except his ability to work, and he cannot work without the consent of the landlord and the capitalist. Therefore, he is virtually a slave. He cannot control his own life.



Under Socialism all the land and machinery would belong to the State. There would be no idle landlords and capitalists. The worker would not have to give up the greater part of that which he produces to the idlers. It would benefit the community, and he, as a member of the community, would have a fair share of all the wealth that was produced.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:—

If you are a Socialist you should buy *The Platform* every week. Your news-agent will get it for you if you order it.

For One Penny per week you will receive Twenty Copies.

Distribute these among your neighbours and friends; put them on the seats in railway trains; give them out at public meetings.

If you want information about the Independent Labour Party, write to Councillor JOHN PENNY, General Secretary, 10, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C., who will send you full particulars.

Read the *Labour Leader*, the *Clarion*, and the *I.L.P. News*. These will tell you what Socialism means, and keep you in touch with the great International Socialist movement.

18,000 "Platform" leaflets distributed last week. Help us to bring the circulation up to 100,000.

335.05
I N.

I.L.P. NEWS.

THE MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

No. 62. VOL. VI.

MAY, 1902.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

The Decline of Radicalism.

PRESENT DAY CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGE.

By J. BRUCE GLASIER.

Socialists, when anticipating as they did in the earlier days of the Socialist movement the disruption of the Liberal Party, had little foreboding that any general falling away of primary Liberal principles would accompany or precede that event. So far, indeed, from foreseeing the likelihood of any disqualification occurring to the leading reform proposals of the Liberal Party, they themselves engraved the more important items of the Radical principles upon their own programmes. Extension of the Franchise, Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords, Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church, Local Control of the Liquor Traffic, Direct Taxation and Secular Education—these and other Radical measures were reckoned as integral planks of the Socialist, no less than of the Radical, political platform.

But history has a way of its own. It is not the collapse of the Liberal Party but the revocation of Radical Liberalism itself that is the big political fact of our time. Not only is Liberalism fading from the people's convictions, but crumbling out of our political institutions. Monarchical celebrations are being revived with the fervour of the Restoration period. The House of Lords is more popular than it perhaps ever has been. The Ministers are acquiring more bureaucratic control. Grievance before supply has been hustled out of the way. The rights of private members have been made forfeit. Trade Union combination is being put out of court. Conscription is cheerily spoken of. Corn laws are returning. And—to cut the list short—Popular Control of Education is threatened, denominational schools are to be further supported out of the rates, and a Catholic university is to be endowed. There is, indeed, hardly a single important political principle of Mill and the great Radicals of the last century that is not either suffering violence or perishing without assault at all.

This is a remarkable occurrence; and all the more remarkable that it has taken place almost without agitation, protest, or perturbation of any kind. Quite imperceptibly the old Radical political order has gone out and the new Conservative come in, like the replacement of a conductor on a tramcar. But it is none the less a momentous change; and one that requires the serious consideration of Socialists.

It would be easy to see in this upset of the great political ordinances of the Radicals and pioneers of political freedom nothing less than a precipitate and perilous national reaction: a retracing of the steps of progress by at least a hundred years. That would, however, be an exaggerated view to take. We cannot

hastily assume that the whole nation is becoming seriously retrograde politically, while making undoubtedly great progress in social and scientific culture, in the public habit of democracy, and in the growth of actual Socialist institutions. A juster appreciation of the facts seems to point us to a less gloomy conclusion.

For, notwithstanding the indications of reaction already referred to, it is surely not mere sophistry to say that there is little evidence in the actual every-day life of the nation to show that the people are reverting back to any form of political barbarism. Signs there are enough that the great bulk of the working class are seriously lacking in any deep interest in public affairs, or in art or literature—and these signs are always indications of some form of national debasement. But in the main the active and passive sentiment of the nation is probably more essentially social and democratic than it ever has been. At no time in British history, it might with good show of reason be said, have the people ever been less disposed in the mass to submit to monarchical oppression, less likely to tolerate the rejection of popular measures by the House of Lords, to brook defiance of parliamentary opinion by the Ministers, to consent to the use of public rates for merely denominational purposes, to bear a heavy tax upon food, or indeed to suffer any material restriction of their freedom and comfort. Even with respect to the recent Imperialist escapades of the nation and the revival of militarism, while we cannot contemplate these manifestations without misapprehension lest the usual penalty of empire is about to befall the British State, we are in all fairness bound to admit that lust of slaughter and indifference to the havoc of war are less characteristic of the average citizen to-day than in former periods of our history. Humanitarianism shows many signs of growth.

Seeming reaction, indeed, is not confined to the political movement of reform. The doom of apparent frustration has also overtaken social and even Socialist reform: yet there are not many among us who would allege that the nation is going back in social amelioration or Socialist conviction. Temperance legislation has flatly refused to go upon the straight and radical lines of the prohibitionists. The agitations for the legal Eight Hours' Day and Nationalisation of the Railways have become derelict. Complete Land Nationalisation seems further away by fifty years than it was twenty years ago. And the proposal to expropriate capitalists wholesale, with or without compensation, is at present hardly more seriously entertained among Socialists than among the general community.

While, however, these "programme" schemes have more or less come to grief, the principles embodied in them have assuredly not suffered serious misadventure. Legislation that will enable the community to obtain control of the Liquor Traffic is probably near at hand. An Eight Hours' Day has been established in Post Office

and other Government departments; the Board of Trade has put restrictions on the hours of employment on railways; and the municipalities have in numerous instances reduced the hours of their employees. Land is being acquired by municipalities, and landlords' privileges restricted. Municipalities are running trams, light railways, and steamboats of their own. Collective ownership of the means of health and wealth and employment is extending in every direction. Thus it would seem that social reform and Socialism are making real progress; whilst the abstract programmes of reformers and Socialists are failing except as indications of aim and means of exposition.

These considerations would seem to show not that the nation is politically on the down-grade, but that progress is taking a different form and direction from what the Radicals predicated. The interests of the middle class require no further democratisation of the machinery of the State—or indeed quite as much as has been already effected (hence some undoubted reaction with respect to Education, Free Trade, etc.); while the working class are economically restricted from availing themselves of such political freedom as has been obtained for them. It is probable that all *radical* and prescriptive change is becoming increasingly difficult owing to the development of the social and economic organisation of the State and its consequent increased resistance to structural change. The intellectual adaptability of the State is, however, also increasing, so that while we shall find the body politic resisting more strenuously than ever any attempt to amputate any of its limbs, or even useless parts, it will become more and more capable of employing its powers in new social directions. The transformation in the character of Society that can be accomplished in this way is without limit, and promises the highest realisation of our Socialist ideal.

If the above inference be correct, it will be seen that Socialist effort formulated on abstract radical, not to speak of revolutionary, lines is not likely to meet with much success. It will be found also that what is chiefly important for Socialists to do is to urge forward Socialist principles and Socialist representation, and allow the needs and opportunities of the time to determine the precise shape and order of precedence of the measures to be adopted. In other words, principles not programmes, men not measures, is what Socialism requires of us.

Labour Day Celebrations.

Space prevents us in these columns attempting to chronicle the numerous May Day Labour celebrations throughout the country. In all the leading towns the I.L.P., either by itself or in company with Trade Union and other organisations, held demonstrations. The festival was very widely observed in this and other countries, and it is notable that the Trade Unionists in Britain took an increasingly spontaneous part in the celebration of the international day of Socialism and Labour.

As the outcome of a ratepayers' meeting convened by the I.L.P. to demand an enquiry into the electrical undertaking of the Salford Corporation, the Town Council at their next meeting decided to hold a public enquiry. The enquiry will, however, consist entirely of members of the Council, and as nearly all of those selected will have to give evidence and meet charges which will be made at the enquiry their position is a distinctly anomalous one.

The Crisis in Belgium.

The past month has been a memorable one in the history alike of Belgium and the Socialist movement. After long and patient, but ineffective, parliamentary agitation for the revision of the constitution in favour of universal, or at least manhood, suffrage, a general strike of the workers was declared. Work ceased altogether in many districts. As usual, the authorities had recourse to the soldiery and police, and, as usual also, riot and bloodshed was the consequence. It is agreed on all sides that the Socialists—who have borne the brunt of the agitation—acted with most exemplary courage and restraint throughout the crisis. While fearlessly risking their own persons, they did their utmost to prevent violence, protect the populace, and care for the injured. Having served its primary purpose of displaying the will of the people, the general strike was brought to an end, and now the country awaits the action of the King and the Government. We join with Socialists in all lands in tendering our sympathy with the Belgian Socialists in the loss and hurt of their comrades, and our admiration of their conduct in the struggle.

I.L.P. Mission in London.

Under the propaganda scheme, Philip Snowden addressed three large meetings in the London district on April 29th and 30th and May 2nd.

The first was held in the Public Hall, Canning Town. The West Ham Branch had charge of the arrangements, and put in an enormous amount of work. Huge posters were displayed all over the district, and handbills and leaflets were delivered in addressed envelopes to over 20,000 houses. A magnificent audience was got together, and the meeting should give a splendid impetus to the movement in West Ham.

The second meeting was held in the Holborn Town Hall, and despite the fact that it was rather late in the season for indoor gatherings, there were close upon a thousand persons present. J. R. Macdonald occupied the chair, and the speakers were Philip Snowden, Keir Hardie, and Robert Smillie.

The last meeting of the series was held at Woolwich. Councillor Grinling presided over a large audience, and the speeches of both Keir Hardie and Philip Snowden were received with great enthusiasm. At the close of the meeting about 50 names were handed in, and the branch will be re-started with every prospect of success.

There will be a deficit on the meetings when the accounts are made up, but not a very large one, and there is every prospect of the results fully justifying the outlay. It is to be hoped that the London comrades will take advantage of the enthusiasm created, and make the movement a distinct influence for good in the metropolis.

New Pamphlet.

"SOCIALISM FOR CHILDREN."

This is the sixth of the London City I.L.P. series of penny pamphlets, and is from the pen of Mrs. Bruce Glasier, than whom no happier choice of a writer could have been found. There has long been a widespread desire for a simple statement of Socialism that could be read with understanding by young people, and used as a means of instruction for children in the home and at Socialist Sunday Schools. "Socialism for Children" quite fulfils this purpose. The waste and wrong of the present system of work and wealth-distribution, and the meaning of Socialism—how land, machinery, and labour might be used for the health, wealth, happiness, and beauty of life—are set forth in simple terms, with illustrations that come readily home to children's minds, the more important ideas being brought out in stronger type. The pamphlet should prove no less useful for "grown up" children than for boys and girls, and it ought to be on sale at all I.L.P. Labour Church and Sunday School meetings.

David and Mary Hardie.

A SCOTTISH IDYLL.

At Cambuslang, near Glasgow, on Wednesday, 23rd April, Mary Keir and David Hardie died almost within an hour of each other. They were aged 71 and 78 years respectively. Their memory deserves record, not only because they were mother and father to J. Keir Hardie, M.P., but because of their own sterling character and lives. Through long years of stress and hardship they lived and toiled undauntedly, bearing their heads as high as king and queen. With rare courage they had separated themselves from the profession of a religion in which they had ceased to believe in times when it was difficult and almost dangerous to do so. Repelled and shunned for years by many of their neighbours on account of their fearless secularist and democratic opinions, they held their humble course with a dignity of conviction and scorn of the hypocrisy around them that is typical of the finest traditions of Scottish life and character. Sharing in the rough ways and speech of the mining class, David Hardie was nevertheless a man of bright and even cultured mind. Warned a year or two ago by the doctor that he must give up work because of his infirmity, the old man virtually leapt from his sick bed, shouldered his pick, and went down again into the coal-mine, where he continued to work till shortly before his death. Mrs. Hardie was a woman of the greatest energy and spirit, dauntless as ever woman was. Ministers, land agents, and others who had sought to meddle with her views or molest her freedom she had upon occasion promptly slammed out of door. Her passionate hatred of sham and oppression, with its complementary intense sympathy with suffering, and love of her children and friends, tell of the strain of the covenanters that mingled in her blood. Last June she went to London, accompanied by a son and daughter, to visit her son in Parliament and to see the sights of the metropolis, and, though 70 years, she flitted about like a girl in her 'teens. It was with some difficulty that she was persuaded not to vent her indignation there and then against the offending iron grille that screens the view of the Ladies' Gallery in the House of Commons. She was very proud of the political eminence of her son. When, however, as a young man he departed from the principles of his parents so far as to take to evangelical preaching, she did not disguise her impatience at his conduct.

In compliance with the express wish of the deceased, their funeral cortège was of the simplest and least gloomy kind, and their bodies were cremated. There was no hearse or trappings; the two coffins were placed side by side across an open carriage drawn by white horses. The people of the town displayed much sympathy, and the route was lined by working folk. A large concourse of Socialists attended, and wreaths were sent from far and near. Keir Hardie himself conducted the service, which was very simple. We venture, in behalf of the entire Independent Labour Party, to express our honour of the memory of the deceased, and our deep sympathy with our comrade, Keir Hardie, and his brothers and sisters in their loss.

Halifax I.L.P. has total assets over liabilities (including its hall) of £1,076 15s. It has 619 financial members.

What the I.L.P. is Doing.

The West Leeds Branch would be glad to hear from speakers who would assist them with the outdoor propaganda.—A. Leake, 83, Canal Road, Armley.

Bradford is alive to the need of organisation to secure the election of Councillor Jowett to Parliament, and a committee has been appointed to perfect the machinery in the Western Division. The branch has supplied every member with a handy little pocket book, which is full of useful information about the Party.

Clydebank Branch makes a speciality of its lending library. It was started about a year ago with 24 books. Now there are 104 books on the shelves. The library is self-supporting. A halfpenny per week is charged for the loan of a book, and the money received is devoted to the purpose of buying new volumes. The income during the past year was £6 5s. 4d. and the expenditure £6 5s. 3½d. A great deal of credit is due to the librarian, Matthew Cameron. During the year the branch has sold 55 dozen and 8 pamphlets, and distributed 10,920 "Platform" leaflets.

North Manchester invites the N.A.C. to organise a series of big meetings against the corn tax, and Salford I.L.P. asks the Council to publish a manifesto on the subject.

Bentham I.L.P., a small branch situated somewhere in the wilds of the Pennine range in North-west Yorkshire, is stoutly holding aloft its banner. Philip Snowden and Mrs. Bruce Glasier have both recently given lectures under its auspices.

C. A. Glyde, of Bradford, goes in June for a week's lecturing in South Wales. He is bringing out a new and revised edition of his successful pamphlet.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of carrying on propaganda in South Gloucestershire, the local branch held 23 meetings last year in various towns—Bavlis, Hobbs, Latrobe, Oxley, Ronayne, Smith, Phillips, and Gilbert Williams all giving their services as speakers. Special missions were also conducted by E. T. Phillips and Mrs. Baker (of Stockton). 5,000 Socialist and 10,000 South African War pamphlets and leaflets were distributed. Thus the light is kept burning.

Fred Bramley (Bradford) lectured on "The War," and G. S. Christie (School Board, Nottingham), "The Education Bill," to the Derby I.L.P. last month. The branch also held a most successful Sunday evening concert. On Sunday, 4th May, Councillor F. W. Jowett (Bradford) opened the summer campaign on the market place with two lectures on "Industrialism and Poverty" and "Reform." Good reports of the I.L.P. meetings appear every Monday in the *Derby Daily Telegraph*.

The Salford I.L.P. Council has issued circulars to the Mayor and newspapers of the borough, protesting against awarding costly solid gold coronation medals by the borough Council to its own members out of the ratepayers' money.

Mrs. Bruce Glasier has spent a fortnight in the northern counties—speaking at Barrow, Workington, Bentham, and at Usworth in Durham, where the new branch is flourishing.

North Salford I.L.P. Bazaar.

A three days' bazaar was held last month by the North Salford I.L.P., in the Pankhurst Hall, to raise funds for additional decorations and fittings for the hall. Councillor Fred Brocklehurst, J. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Councillor Pitt Hardacre delivered opening addresses on the respective days, which were well reported in the press. Unfortunately, the severe weather interfered with the attendance. It is hoped, however, that the labour and enterprise of the members will result in a substantial addition to the hall fund.

Mr. C. O'Kelly, M.P., is a man of philosophic mind as well as patriotic heart. Addressing a recent meeting after having completed two months imprisonment at Castlebar Gaol, he assured his hearers that his imprisonment had not changed his views. "Many of you," he added, "no doubt object to go to prison because of the classes you would have to mix with there, but anyone, who, like myself, has been in Parliament need not be particular on that point."

Independent Labour Party.

HEAD OFFICE, 10, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET,
LONDON, E.C.

All inquiries with respect to the I.L.P. should be addressed to the above office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming branches are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

I.L.P. PUBLICATIONS.

The Platform. One Penny Weekly.

I.L.P. Manifesto.—Small Poster. Suitable for window display, size 17½ in. by 22½ in. Price, 9d. per doz.

Members' Pence Cards.—4d. per doz., post free.

Rules.—To insert in Pence Cards (with rubber bands), 4d. per doz.

CAROLINE MARTYN MEMORIAL LIBRARY.

No. 2. *Independent Labour Party.*—Statement of Principles. Leaflet, 4pp. Price, 4/6 per 1,000.

No. 3. *A Labour Catechism.*—Leaflet, 4pp., arranged in question and answer form. Price, 4/6 per 1,000.

I.L.P. News.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Subscription Rates: One year. 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month, 1½d. Post free. For advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News," Fleet Street, E.C.

HEAD OFFICE, 10, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET,
LONDON, E.C.

No. 62.

MAY, 1902.

The Corn Tax.

Eleswhere in this month's issue I have discussed the phenomena of the decline of modern Radicalism; and, while acknowledging there to the full the reactionary indications of the hour, I have taken the view that the nation generally is not in reaction, but is advancing politically and socially. Recent revocations of Radical methods are, I have suggested, indications not so much of a disposition on the part of the nation to relinquish or refuse the freedom which Radicalism has striven to obtain, but are rather signs that the nation is becoming more and more antipathetic to forms of change that inflict disturbance or pain on any part of the social organism. Following upon this inference, I have suggested that the insistence upon principles, and the election of the right kind of men to apply them swiftly and understandingly, rather than the driving forward of mechanical programmes by perhaps, as some of our referendum friends might suggest, mechanical men, ought to be the great aim of militant Socialism.

But, while in this way estimating the conditions of Socialist progress in our country, and adopting an optimist view of the situation, I none the less am persuaded that not only must Socialists put all their might into the work of agitation for their principles, but that ought to form the very backbone of resistance in the country to every act of legislation or administration that inflicts injustice or perpetuates wrong. No optimistic view of the future—and are we not all optimistic in believing that complete Socialism will come?—can relieve us from the obligation to take our utmost part in the

struggle between right and wrong that constantly rages around us. Tendencies towards reaction full of danger constantly manifest themselves in the Government of the State, and it is only by the more energised forces of progress constantly giving those tendencies battle and putting them to rout that progress is preserved.

The recent imposition of the corn tax is a case in point. It is a measure against which Socialists should agitate at every turn. A tax upon bread is an instrument of hunger and oppression of an abominable kind. More than any other tax, it places the poor in a plight of economic helplessness. There is no plea that such a tax is urgent, necessary, or deeply fixed in the organic custom of the nation. The people dislike and dread it, but the people unfortunately to-day are politically disorganised and have for the moment little power of resistance. That a corn tax might indirectly stimulate British agriculture and help to revive rural activity is a worthless argument. The last method of increasing the food production of British soil and reinstituting village life is by perpetuating the present British farmer and his blundering methods of field farming, and artificially increasing the rent value of rural land property.

It is unnecessary to point out that apart from the direct economic injury which the tax inflicts upon the working class at home any imposition of port dues that discriminates between the products of our own country and those of other nations is bad international economy. Every day that passes makes more and more the nations of the world interdependent upon each other, and it is to the interest of all that the widest and freest exchange of the world's produce should take place. One need not be a believer in the dogma that Free Trade is the chief corner stone of a free state to be convinced that the reimposition of corn duties in Britain is a fiscal resort indefensible on any plea of principle or expediency save the principle of protecting monopoly and the expediency of plundering the poor.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

To Abolish Representative Government.

Needless to say, the proposal to abolish representative government in the I.L.P. received scant support at the Annual Conference. A similar proposal made at the S.D.F. Conference met with similar discouragement there. The notion that any living organisation can be governed by substituting for direct personal representation some form of mechanical voting, some method of counting aggregations of opinion by the secretary at the centre, is one that pertains to the old individualistic conception of the State. There may, or may not, be some advantage in supplementing representative government by the referendum, but the idea of abolishing personal representation of the democracy altogether can be entertained by no one who comprehends the essential principle of social organisation, namely, that the State and community must be one and indivisible.

To invite the electorate to vote upon public affairs in their homes without public meetings and conferences with their fellows is to encourage the people to fall back upon their isolated self-interest. Public assembly and

public discussion are elementary conditions of public understanding and public spirit. Men in the solitude of their own ideas revert to the narrowness of their own experience and selfish emotion. It is only by assembling together, seeing and hearing each other, and gaining a mutual understanding of each other's needs and difficulties that we are each drawn out of ourselves and become a community, instead of a mere aggregation of individuals.

As well suggest the abolition of branch meetings—which are local conferences of members—as suggest the abolition of national conferences of branches. Were it possible for all the members of all the branches to meet together and have an equal opportunity of speaking and being heard—an almost inconceivable thing—and, were life long enough for the purpose, such a meeting might be an ideally representative one. Such a gathering is, however—happily, shall we say?—impossible. That being so, delegate representation from each branch or district becomes the natural and the only feasible method of national assembly. And, by the same rule that branches elect their own office-bearers, so these national assemblies in turn elect their national executives.

Another Outbreak of "Democracy."

A resolution in the name of the Newcastle I.L.P. has been sent to the branches inviting them to vote on certain questions referring to the constitution of the Party. This is a fresh departure in the methods of national organisation, and its development will doubtless be watched with interest by the branches. There are great possibilities in the new device. Every branch may elect to have a try in turn, or all at the same time—the more the merrier, we suppose—in circularising the whole organisation upon schemes and proposals of their own. Branches might even be created by enterprising outsiders for the sole purpose of absorbing the attention of the I.L.P. in this new and fascinating direction. For it is indisputable that if one branch—or shall we say a section of one branch?—may, whenever it is dissatisfied with the decision of the Annual Conference or the action of the N.A.C., constitute itself into an Annual Conference and N.A.C. on its own account, a similar privilege must be extended to every branch and every section of a branch of the 220 affiliated branches of the Party. "Act so that your actions may be universalised," counselled Emmanuel Kant. It is, we say, a method of "democracy" that opens up a wide vista of possibilities in the I.L.P. There need be no lack of arduous work for the secretaries, and all-night sittings for the members of I.L.P. branches, if the practice meets with favour. How much propaganda, how much unity, how much organisation, and how much Socialism would be the outcome of the new system is perhaps a question that its promoters have not for the moment troubled to consider.

That the experiment may possess as much instruction for the movement as possible, we hope the secretary of the Newcastle branch will not forget to state how many replies have been received for and also against its proposal from the two hundred odd branches circularised. It will also be helpful as a guidance to other branches who may propose to circularise the Party on, say, the question of fusing the I.L.P. with the Hammersmith

Socialist Society, if the Newcastle branch will provide information upon the following points: (1) Was any referendum of the Newcastle I.L.P. members taken upon the question of referending the I.L.P. branches—and if not, why? (2) Was a special meeting of the Newcastle branch called to consider the somewhat important and unusual proposal of circularising the Party and expending branch funds upon that object? Or was any customary notice given the members that the matter would be brought forward? (3) How many members were present when the resolution was carried, and what was the vote? (4) Whether there has been any protests on the part of the members against the method by which the resolution was adopted in the name of the branch.

It is best to get at the true inwardness of these outbreaks of "democratic" fervour, so that the branches may measure the amount of democracy that inspires them. "All is not gold that glitters"—as we have recently been authoritatively reminded.

The General Secretary reports that Councillor H. Day, of Norwich, was so favourably impressed by the character and proceedings of the Annual Conference at Liverpool that he has instructed his bankers to pay £20 a year to the Treasurer of the I.L.P. Another friend, who was similarly impressed, has promised an annual donation of £10, in addition to his present subscription.

From the list of election results which we publish in another column it will be seen that the I.L.P. has obtained a net increase of eight representatives on local bodies at the recent elections. The list, however, is incomplete and does not fully record the activity of the I.L.P. in these contests.

Halifax branch is fast securing for itself all the advantages of a Socialist colony, without any of the hardships which invariably attend that erratic form of Socialist experiment. Among the most recent enterprises of the Halifax I.L.P. is the starting of a Café in its Hall premises. The Café is fitted up with neat tables, and tea and other light refreshments are promptly and tidily served. It is thronged on Saturday evenings with members and friends, and, although only opened six weeks ago, is showing a clear profit of 10/- a week. No drinking club has ever done the like, and we heartily commend the example to other branches.

At the unanimous request of the joint committee of the I.L.P. and Trades Unionists of Leicester, J. R. Macdonald has agreed to again contest the constituency. This is the first occasion on which the Trade Unionists and I.L.P. in Leicester have acted officially together in adopting a parliamentary candidate, and there are now excellent prospects of J. R. Macdonald's success at the next election, whatever array of candidates may be in the field. We are glad also to note that Pete Curran has been selected by the Jarrow Labour League to contest that division.

The special I.L.P. meetings which have just been held in London, under the auspices of the National Council, are likely to be followed up by similar missions.

Philip Snowden, for the occasion, was the chief speaker, and was supported by J. Keir Hardie, M.P., J. R. Macdonald, and John Penny. The meetings were ignored by the *Daily News*, the *Morning Leader*, and other papers from whom, indeed, the I.L.P. is not accustomed to receive any consideration. It is but fair, however, to state that the *Weekly Times and Echo* gave a good account of the meetings.

London cannot be stirred to its depths by a few meetings, however successful they may be, and we make no claim in behalf of the recent I.L.P. mission there that it perceptibly affected the mass of London public opinion. But the meetings have helped to place the I.L.P. statement of Socialism and Labour principles more clearly before audiences which contained a large number of the men and women who actuate the Socialist-Labour movement in London, and have greatly strengthened the local influence of the I.L.P.

Hitherto the I.L.P. has taken no hold in London comparable with its hold in the provinces. On the other hand, none of the London Socialist organisations has obtained any real grip upon the people in the great industrial centres of the nation. But while the I.L.P. as an organisation has not yet widely established itself in London, there can be no doubt that the principles and policy of the I.L.P. represent the hope of Socialism that is finding more and more expression amongst the London working class. Once the I.L.P. is better understood in London, its branches will multiply and Socialism become a real power in politics of the capital.

Elections Results.

TOWN COUNCILS.

Stockton-on-Tees.....O'LearyNot elected... 202

URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILLORS.

Aberdare	E. Parker	Not elected...	420
Blaina	Prout	Gain	521
Briton Ferry.....	Geo. Gethin	"	456
"	H. J. Hewlett	"	440
Brynmaur	R. Jones.....	"	144
Cannock	W. E. Bost	"	901
East Ham.....	W. Till	Not elected...	90
"	A. J. Neale	"	126
"	R. Brodie	"	248
Farsley	Joe Walker	"	104
" (bye-election)...	Allerton	"	90
Gillingham	Lewington	Gain	255
Lye	Oliver Jenkins	"	306
Meltham	Quarmby	"	286
Merthyr.....	Ll. M. Francis	Not elected...	841
Pendlebury	Thos. Greenall	Re-elected ...	348
"	Charles Walsh	Loss	308
Pontypridd	D. Thomas	Not elected...	234
Tanfield	J. Jeffrey	"	113
Thornhill Lees.....	Thierman	Loss ..	306
Tottenham	Harvey	Not elected...	207
"	Broadbank.....	Re-elected ...	557
"	Brown.....	Gain	496
Yeadon	T. Hardisty	Not elected...	116

GUARDIANS.

Derby.....	Haywood.....	Not elected...	99
Falkirk (Parish Council)	W. Marshall	Re-elected unop.	
Salford	Milne	Not elected...	512
St. Pancras	G. C. Cope ..	" ..	300
West Ham.....	Watts	Re-elected ...	753
"	Mrs. Truscott.....	" .. unop.	
"	Mrs. Brodie	Not elected...	995

SCHOOL BOARD.

NelsonOrmerod.....Re-elected ...3695

ELECTIVE AUDITORS.

Hyde	J. W. A. Ryan	Re-elected unop.
Liverpool	J. W. Morrissey	" ..
Swansea	W. C. Jenkins	Gain
Salford	Wm. Hunt.....	Re-elected unop.

Glasgow City Branch.

ANNUAL REPORT.

This branch continues to flourish. At the beginning of last year the branch membership stood at 40. During the year five members resigned, whilst 48 new members joined the branch, leaving a total membership of 83 on the roll. A course of fortnightly public lectures has been run under the auspices of the City Branch, and 13 interesting addresses have been delivered on such practical and important subjects as rent and housing, co-operation, and a State medical service. Mr. J. Shaw Maxwell, in the very able lecture with which the course opened, defined the relation of Parliament to the municipality. The lectures were well attended, and were invariably followed by a full discussion. Although the branch has so far run no candidates for local public bodies, the members have taken an active part in assisting at elections in other wards of the city, and also at the North-East Lanark bye-election. During the municipal elections last November, the branch published a leaflet, entitled "The Rates: how to reduce and how not to reduce them," by Balie John Ferguson, which was circulated to the extent of 23,000 copies, thus helping to educate the electorate on an important point. The leaflet resulted in a profit to the branch, which will be used in future for similar ventures. Besides subscribing to the various election funds, the branch has guaranteed the sum of one guinea per annum towards Keir Hardie's Parliamentary Maintenance Fund. At the Annual Conference of the I.L.P. held in Liverpool, the branch was represented by Mr. D. F. Robertson, and the two resolutions forwarded by the branch were carried. During the year the branch has passed a considerable number of resolutions, dealing both with local problems and the wider political situation. These, together with the speeches of members regarding them, have been widely reported in the Glasgow press. The resolutions, when necessary, were forwarded to the Town Council, the School Board, the Trades Council, and Members of Parliament. On several occasions the Town Council and School Board have given effect to the proposals put forward by the City Branch.

[We may add to the above official report that the branch only rents a room for its meetings. It provides no club amenities for its members, and only meets for work. Its income for the past year was £27 7s. 5d., and its expenditure £26 4s. 6½d., every penny of which has been spent on direct outlay for propaganda, election, and donation.]

Jottings.

By JOHN PENNY.

The amount paid in fees in March was very low, but there was a revival in April, so that the total amount for the two months was very little below that received during the same period last year. It is imperative that branches should attend to the payment of fees regularly. If this matter is neglected there is nothing but debt and discouragement before the N.A.C.

Councillor Herbert Day, of Norwich, who read a paper at the Elected Persons' Conference, and who was a visitor at the I.L.P. Conference, was so pleased with all he heard and saw of the Party that he has instructed his bankers to pay £20 annually to the N.A.C. Another friend has promised £10 per annum. We have good reason to expect a number of similar donations, which will assist the Party materially, but there is still, and there will continue to be, every necessity for the branches not to let their dues fall into arrears.

I wish to call the attention of branches to the advertisement which appears in another part of the paper of the photos I have on sale. These are really first-class cabinet portraits, and the price is one half that usually charged. Every branch ought to have a set to put up on the walls of their clubrooms.

The next meeting of the N.A.C. will be held at Wolverhampton on Monday and Tuesday, May 26th and 27th. If branches desire any matters brought before the Council they should write to me as soon as possible. Our Wolverhampton comrades are arranging a Conference of members in the district on the Saturday evening, and on the Sunday evening there will be a great Demonstration. Public meetings will also be addressed by members of the N.A.C. at West Bromwich, Lye, and other places in the Black Country.

The Report of the Conference will be ready in a few days. I shall be glad to receive orders, so that sufficient copies may be printed.

I have again to urge branches to send me in full election results. Many of those published in this issue have had to be hunted up, and I am afraid they are not complete.

Bradford I.L.P. and E. R. Hartley.

Edwin Halford, secretary Bradford I.L.P., asks us to publish the following resolution:—

"At the usual monthly meeting of the Bradford Independent Labour Party held on Thursday evening last it was resolved: 'That the National Administrative Council of the Party having decided to take no further part in the Dewsbury election, we disagree with their decision to report Mr. E. R. Hartley or any of our members who use their influence to help in the return of a Socialist candidate.'"

[We had no intention of again referring to the Hartley-Dewsbury episode in these columns, but the above resolution invites a word or two of comment. The Dewsbury business was fully laid before the Annual Conference. The Bradford delegates, as well as all other delegates, were afforded a full opportunity of stating the views of their branches. A vote was expressly taken on the question of reporting the conduct of E. R. Hartley, and the action of the N.A.C. was endorsed by an overwhelming majority.

The above resolution, therefore, of the Bradford I.L.P. is not only an expression of disagreement with the N.A.C. on the subject referred to, but an expression of dissent from the decision of the National Conference. Whether or not the National Conference as a jury or the Bradford I.L.P., of which Mr. Hartley is a prominent member, is the likelier to be the more impartial tribunal must be left to the common judgment of our members.

We would also point out to our Bradford friends who supported the resolution printed above that it is evidently founded upon a misapprehension. The decision of the N.A.C. was not that it (the N.A.C.) would take no further part in the election, but that "the I.L.P. take no further part in the election." The local branch unanimously came to a similar decision. E. R. Hartley was a member of the I.L.P., and was as much bound to respect the constituted authority of the Party as any other member. If the plea of helping "in the return of a Socialist candidate" is to dissolve the mutual obligation of our members, not only to respect the collective authority of the Party but to abide by the Party's plighted word to the Trade Unionists who have pledged themselves to act with it, then we may as well confess that our Socialist solidarity and political morality show no visible improvement upon the practice of the capitalist parties. Mr. Hartley himself professed such a scrupulous regard for the wishes of the local branch and the N.A.C. that up to the last he declared his willingness to fight, if asked, against the Socialist candidate referred to. We confess we cannot discover by what line of casuistry it becomes right at the call of the party to fight another Socialist and wrong at the call of the party to abstain from either fighting or helping him.

Might we gently remind our Bradford friends that resolutions approving actions that set at defiance the decision of the Party are apt—like chickens—to come home to roost.—Editor, *I.L.P. News*.]

THE PLATFORM.

Each Copy comprises Twenty up-to-date Leaflets.

A New Leaflet every week.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

Five copies (100 leaflets) sent post free to any address for 6d.
Eleven copies (220 leaflets) for 1/-.

The Reformers' Year Book : 1902

(formerly THE LABOUR ANNUAL).

Edited and Published by Joseph Edwards, Kirkintilloch, Glasgow.

Cr. 8vo. 192 pages. Illustrated with numerous portraits.

Net prices: 2/- in art linen; 1/- in paper. By parcel post, 3d. extra. Articles, Biographies, Directories, and Reports. Very extensive Directory of Social and Political Reformers.

Should be in the hands of every member of the I.L.P.

The Editor specially appeals to all branches to send for a parcel for sale to members and others. 6 copies, 5/6; 12 copies, 10/-; 27 copies, 21/-. Cloth copies count double. Carriage paid, cash with order.

Full set of 8 volumes, 1895 to 1902, in cloth gilt, 13/6; in paper covers, 6/-; carriage paid. In all, 1,750 pages. Each volume with entirely different contents.

Order through your local branch, or send direct, with remittance, to Editor and Publisher, Joseph Edwards, Kirkintilloch, Glasgow.

CABINET PHOTOGRAPHS

OF

J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Philip Snowden, J. R. Macdonald, James Parker, T. D. Benson, F. W. Jowett, and John Penny.

SIXPENCE EACH. SEVENPENCE POST FREE.

I.L.P. Office, 10, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

It is a Common

advertisement saying of soaps, that they save labour in washing and wear on clothes; but only Fels-Naptha returns your money if you don't think it does both. 2½d a bar.

Fels-Naptha soap

Peninsular House Monument London E C

MONTHLY REPORT FROM HEAD OFFICE.

APRIL, 1902.

65 Branches paid Fees in April.

58 " sent reports without fees.

79 " sent neither fees nor reports.

The income of the Head Office during April was:—

Affiliation Fees	...	...	...	£23	18	6
Sales	...	...	...	30	16	1
Election Fund	...	...	...	122	16	8½
National Branch	...	...	...	0	15	6
Donation	...	...	...	20	0	0
Sundries	...	...	...	3	7	0
				£201	13	9½

The Branch Report Sheet for May must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

NATIONAL BRANCH.—The National Branch of the I.L.P. is open to Socialists who endorse the objects and methods of the Party, but who are unable, through geographical or other difficulties, to join a local Branch. Members of the National Branch receive copies of all the official publications of the Party. **SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1902 ARE NOW DUE**, and should be sent to the Head Office. The amount of subscription is left to the discretion of the member.

NEW BRANCHES.

WAKEFIELD—Secretary, F. Clark, 5, Clarendon Street, Wakefield.
 WESTWOOD—Secretary, R. Wrather, 91, Victoria Street, Middleton Road, Oldham.

NEW SECRETARIES.

AYR—Geo. Hunter, Old Brig, Ayr.
 BARROW—Harry Hoyland, 33, New Barnes Village, Barrow-in-Furness.
 BRIDGETON—D. McDowall, 587, Gallowgate, Glasgow.
 BRYNMAWR AND BLAINA—Thos. Parry, 22, Hope Street, Blaina, Mon.
 CANNOCK—W. H. Shenton, Victoria Street, Cannock.
 CLYDEBANK—J. H. Mackenzie, 9, Bruce Street, Clydebank.
 PORTSMOUTH—W. Sutherland, 12, Brookfield Road, Kingston, Portsmouth.
 SOUTH SHIELDS—E. W. Towns, 8, Burnham Street, Tyne Dock, South Shields.
 SUNDERLAND—B. Purdy, 7, Clark Terrace, Hendon, Sunderland.
 SWANSEA, N.—Arthur Charles, 121, Kilvey Road, St. Thomas, Swansea.
 YEADON—John Webster, 1, Lombard Street, Rawdon, Leeds.

Branch Fees and Reports.

The following Branches paid fees in April:—

Aberdare 3s. 6d., Arbroath 2s. 6d., Ashton (No. 2) 2s. 4d., *Attercliffe 5s., Ayr 4d., *Barrow 2s. 6d., Birmingham Central 5s., Birmingham West 3s., Blackburn 8s. 4d., Bootle 1s. 6d., Bradford £2, Calton 2s. 6d., Camlachie 5s., Cannock 1s. 8d., Cardiff S.P. 2s. 6d., Carnoustie 1s. 2d., Clapham 3s., Clydebank 2s. 6d., Crook 2s. 6d., Dalmellington 1s. 6d., Darlington 2s. 10d., Derby 15s., Dowlais 3s., Dunfermline 1s. 6d., East Ham 2s. 3d., Edinburgh 17s. 8d., Falkirk 1s. 4d., Gillingham 1s. 4d., Glossop 6s., Gorton 4s. 6d., *Hexham 6d., *Huddersfield £1 2s., Huchesonstown 5s., Hyde 8s. 4d., Keighley 5s., Kilmarnock 2s. 6d., Leeds West 3s. 8d., Leicester £1 10s., Littleborough 2s. 6d., *Long Eaton 10s. 6d., Middlesbrough 3s., Milnsbridge £3 2s., Newcastle 3s. 6d., New Marske 3s., Newton Heath 4s. 2d., Norwich 5s., Nottingham 5s., *Oldham Central £2 12s. 6d., *Ossett 7s. 6d., Paisley 16s. 8d., Pendlebury 8s., Rotherham 3s., St. Helens S.S. 2s. 9d., Salford North 4s. 3d., Salford West 7s., Smethwick 1s. 6d., South Shields 5s., *Stewarton 2s., Stockton 8s. 4d., Swansea North 2s. 4d., *Tantobie 2s. 6d., Wakefield 4s. 2d., Warrington 3s. 6d., Westwood 5s., Yeadon 4s. 4d. (65).

The following Branches sent Reports without Fees:—

Aston, Ayrshire, Barnsley, *Bedlinog, *Bentham, Bermondsey, Birmingham South, Bridgeton, *Brighouse, *Brynmawr, *Chelmsford, Chesterfield, *College, *Colne Valley, Consett, *Felling, *Finsbury, *Fulham, *Gloucestershire South, *Govan, Hackney, Halifax, *Hawick, East Hunslet, Jarrow, *Leeds Central, Lewisham, Liverpool, *London City, *Lye, Macclesfield, Merthyr, Mexborough, Motherwell, *Nelson, Oldham S.S., *Openshaw, Partick, Penydarren, Pontypridd, Portsmouth, Preston, Pudsey, Renfrew, Rochdale, St. Pancras, Stockport, *Sunderland, Swansea S.S., Thornhill Lees, Tottenham, Usworth, *West Bromwich, North-West Ham, *South-West Ham, Wolverhampton, *Workington, Ystalyfera. (58).

The following Branches sent no Reports:—

*Annfield Plain, Ashton (No. 1), Berkeley, Blantyre, Bordesley, Brechin, Burslem, Bury, Cheltenham, Chester, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Cleckheaton, *Cowdenbeath, *Crewe, Crosshills, Crosskeys, Crumpsall, Dalsfarg Lanward, Darwen, *Dudley, Dundee, Eccles, Elland, Failsworth, Farnworth, *Gateshead, *Glasgow City, Gloucester, Grimsby, Hartlepool, Horwich, *Hollinwood, Hull, Hunslet West, Inverness, Kensington North, Kettering, Kirriemuir, Langley Mill, Leeds North, Leith, Lesmahagow, Limehouse, *Longwood, Maesycwmmmer, Manchester North, Mansfield, Merthyr Vale, *Middleton, Montrose, *Mossley, *Musselburgh, New Cumnock, Oakworth, Oswestry, Rishton, *Rothwell, *Rutherglen, *St. Rollox, *Selly Oak, Shildon, Shrewsbury S.S., Sowerby, Spen Colliery, Spen Valley S.S., *Spennymoor, Stalybridge, Stroud, *Sutton-in-Ashfield, Townhill, Tradeston, Troedyrhiw, Vale of Leven, Walkden, *Wednesbury, Wellington S.S., Wishaw, Yarmouth, *York. (79).

Branches marked with an asterisk (*) pay fees quarterly.

OTHER CASH RECEIVED IN APRIL.

Sales.—Attercliffe 9s. 2d., Falkirk 2s. 8d., Littleborough 5s., Keighley 2s. 6d., Bentham 5s. 5d., Office Sales £23 5s. 9½d., Chelmsford 1s. 6d., Nelson 9s., Glasgow City 5s. 7d., Miss Warren 8s. 6d., Leeds Central 2s., Rutherglen 4s. 9d., Darlington 5s. 7d., Ashton 2s., Huchesonstown 3s. 1d., Carnoustie 11d., Derby 8s. 11d., Bootle 2s. 4d., Aberaman S.S. 1s. 6d., Govan 1s., Limehouse 11d., St. Helens 8s. 4½d., Brynmawr 1s. 4d., Paisley 7s. 6d., Pendlebury 1s., Gillingham 10½d., Newton Heath 3s. 1d., West Birmingham 2s. 4d., Stockton 9s. 8d., Gorton 3s. 1d., Norwich 4s. 6d., Felling 4s. 11d., Long Eaton 4s. 2½d., Smethwick 6s. 3d., South Shields 5s. 1d., Workington 1s. 11d., Sunderland 1s. 11d., Bridgeton 1s. 11d. Total £30 16s. 1d.

Election Fund.—Bradford Trades Council £1, Barrow (collected) 15s. 1d., Carnoustie 13s. 6d., Swansea S.S. (2nd donation) 10s. 9d., Littleborough £1 6s. 6d., Mr. Prest and Mr. Walker (per W. Clayton) 2s., Sutton-in-Ashfield £1 7s. 3d., Ashton (No. 2) 7s. 6d., Michael Lee 5s., East Hunslet 7s. 6d., G. Smith 1s., H. Smith 1s., E. Hindmarsh 1s., H. Mc. (Londonderry) 2s. 6d., E. A. Henderson 1s., Darwen £1 16s., South Shields Municipal Labour League 14s. 6d., S. E. Wild (collected) 4s. 6d., Bentham £2 2s. 3d., Newcastle 6s. 6d., Crook branch and friends £1 5s. 6d., per J. Trimble (J. T. 1s., A. R. 2s. 6d., G. S. Tetley 2s. 6d., A. H. 2s., W. W. 1s., J. W. 1s.), J. Porteous 10s., W. R. (per H. Sykes) £2 2s., Ben. T. Johnson £2 2s., Liverpool 15s., Motherwell £1, Nelson branch and friends £2 12s., Hyde £1 16s., Labour Church (Hyde) £1 6s. 3d., Rev. J. B. (Hyde) 2s., Carlisle Trades Council 5s. 6d., collected by A. B. Newall £1 3s. 9d., per J. Dentith 8s., Nelson 7s., Ashton £2 13s. 6d., P. Driver 6s., collected by J. Sparling £1, collected by J. Smith 8s. 6d., Longwood £1, collected by W. Ward £1 6s. 6d., collected by T. Thornton £3, E. Alexander 10s., W. Whittaker 2s., per Dan. T. Haigh 15s. 6½d., Burton Trades Council 10s., President Burton T. C. 2s. 6d., Milnsbridge £1, Gloucestershire South 13s., Tantobie 7s., Harehills Socialist Club £1 5s. 6d., Horwich 17s., collected by E. McCree (Wyke) 14s. 8d., Rochdale £1 1s., A. Temple and R. Brown 2s., Preston £1 2s. 6d., North Salford £1 6s., Stewarton 10s. 6d., Long Eaton 10s., collected by G. Belt (Hull) £1 7s. 6d., Glasgow City 5s., Carlisle (No. 1) A.S.R.S. 10s., collected by Carlisle Clarion Fellowship £1, per Joe Walker (Pudsey) £1 10s. 6d., Clapham 16s. 6d., Langley Mill 9s. 6d., Norwich 10s., Openshaw £2 0s. 10d., Cleckheaton 10s., Glasgow United Trades Council 10s., Bedlinog £3 15s. 3d., Chesterfield 18s., Haworth 16s., John L. Wright 2s. 6d., R. Kernigan 1s., per J. Dyson (per J. Keir Hardie) £1 2s. 9d., Keighley £1 1s. 9d., per E. Newbery 4s., Darlington £2 10s. 8½d., per G. Thurman 2s., Huddersfield £1 13s. 8½d., Thos. Dyers 2s., Blackburn 13s. 6d., Deptford and Greenwich Trades Council 5s., J. Rawnsley (collected) 3s., J. P. (Stepney) 1s. 6d., "A Few Morley Friends" 3s., Leicester £3 18s. 3d., W. T. Burrell 5s. 10d., North Leeds (per W. T. Miller, Clothiers' List) £1 12s., per W. T. Miller 3s. 11d., Tramwaymen (per Comrade Gallon) 6s. 5d., per W. Trainer 7s., per R. Stetman 6s., per H. Garnett (Polishers' List) 6s. 1d., per T. Snaith 2s. 6d., Dowlais £1, Lewisham 5s. 6d., F. J. Greenwood 1s., G. Richards 1s., Hednesford 8s., Evan Parker 2s. 6d., Tyeredith 1s., Barrow 4s. 11d., Finsbury £1 7s. 9d., Middleton 12s. 6d., Mexborough £1 4s., Paisley branch and collection at R. Smillie's lecture £1 3s. 6d., North-West Ham 4s., Brighouse £2 9s., Derby branch and Clarion Club (per F. Palmer) £1 8s. 1d., per S. Heath 17s. 6d., per A. Riggott 8s., per A. Jackson 7s., J. O'Neill 2s., A. Barratt 6d., J. Gillis 6d., Holbeck 7s., St. Helens S.S. 5s. 6d., Usworth £1 6s. 6d., Ben Foster (per T. R.) 2s. 6d., collected by W. Faichnie (Falkirk) £1 2s. 6d., York 14s., Nottingham 5s., Barnsley (per J. Quinell) £2 19s., per John Williams £1 1s., Colne Valley £2 3s. 6d., Leeds 6s., Stockton £1, Middlesbrough £2 5s. 9d., Bradford £1 11s. 14s. 2d., Partick 15s. 6d., Long Eaton 8s. 6d., Edinburgh £1 14s. 6d., per R. Brotherhead 4s., Sunderland £1 3s. 6d., W. Frith Bryden 2s. 6d. Total £122 16s. 8½d.

National Branch.—S. Heath 3s., Howard Lewis 10s. 6d., Mr. Henderson 1s., H. Hewlett 1s. Total 15s. 6d.

Donation.—Councillor H. Day £20.

Sundries.—Elected Persons' Conference £3 5s., Pendlebury 2s. Total £3 7s.

(Signed) JOHN PENNY.

I.L.P. NEWS.

THE MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

No. 67. Vol. VI.

OCTOBER, 1902.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

Is There Still Need for Socialism?

BY PHILIP SNOWDEN.

A summary of that part of the Report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies which deals with the investments in Friendly, Provident, and Building Societies and Savings Banks has recently gone the rounds of the press, and the figures have been used to convey the impression that the working classes are saving large sums from their weekly wages and are the owners of a considerable portion of the wealth of the country. The figures given in this summary appear to have surprised some of our Socialists, who seem to think that if it be true that the working classes do possess all the savings with which they are credited in the Chief Registrar's statement the case for Socialism is imperilled. The total amount of the investments certainly strikes one at first sight as being colossal, but its relative insignificance becomes painfully obvious on close investigation. The following are the Chief Registrar's figures for 1899—his latest summary:—

	No. of Members.	Funds.
Building Societies.....	602,981 ...	£60,776,508
Friendly Societies.....	11,750,130 ...	39,487,619
Co-operative Societies.....	1,741,062 ...	35,099,370
Trades Unions.....	1,436,283 ...	3,515,067
Workmen's Compensation Schemes...	100,397 ...	39,585
Friends of Labour Loan Societies.....	31,542 ...	250,909
Railway Savings Bank.....	52,730 ...	4,654,112
Trustee Savings Banks.....	1,601,485 ...	57,196,458
Post Office Savings Bank.....	8,046,680 ...	138,818,175
	25,363,290 ...	£339,837,703

A sum of £340,000,000 is in itself a vast amount, but when we divide it amongst 25,363,290 persons it gives but a small investment per head. It must be remembered that the membership of all the above mentioned societies, except the Post Office Savings Bank, is confined to adults, and as according to the last census returns the total number of the working class engaged in industrial, agricultural, and domestic occupations was only 15,000,000, and as this includes a large number of young unmarried people, it follows that the number of persons given in the returns, viz., 25,363,290, must include a large number of duplicates, or a very considerable number of persons who are not of the working-class. But making a reasonable allowance for duplicates it must be that at least thirty per cent. of the total investments are owned by others than the manual labour class. This assumption is justified by the fact that according to an answer to a parliamentary question over seven-eighths of the investments in the Post Office Bank belong to persons who have less than £50 to their credit, and over 60 per cent of the separate deposits during a year are for sums of less than £1.

The average amount per member invested in the various societies mentioned in the return is less than £13. Granting even that all these investments were the property of the working class, they have a capital of £13 a head! But the withdrawals from the Co-operative Societies and the Savings Banks, which average something like 80 per cent. of the total investments every year, prove that much of these savings is made for a temporary purpose, and that unemployment, special family expenditure, and other rainy days, are constantly requiring that the small sum put by shall be withdrawn for use.

It is a fact admitted by all who have had occasion to investigate the question that a considerable part of the investments put to the credit of the working class is owned by the middle class. But although the whole sum of £340,000,000 set down in the Registrar's return as invested in what are regarded as working class institutions is not the property of the working class, yet it is probable that the total property of that class amounts to quite that sum or probably even more. There is a considerable amount of house property, not included in the Building Societies returns, owned by the working class. The investments of the working class in railways, consols, corporation stock, and limited liability businesses must in the aggregate amount to a considerable sum. But the point to remember in this connection is, that just as in the case of the Post Office Savings Bank, so in regard to the working class savings generally, it is correct to say that the great bulk is owned by a comparative few.

Granting then that the 25,363,290 workers have property or savings to the value of £340,000,000 does it indicate a satisfactory condition? It amounts, as we have seen, to less than £13 a head, which is not a very lasting protection against pauperism. But the insignificance of the working classes' share of the national wealth is seen when it is contrasted with the total. According to a recent statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer the savings of the whole nation amount to £200,000,000 a year—that is, each year a sum equal to half the entire savings of the working class is added to the total national wealth. The capital value of all the wealth in the country was estimated in 1899 to amount to £14,000,000,000 (fourteen thousand millions), according to Sir Robert Giffen. Taking therefore the Registrar's return it appears that 25,363,290 persons own £340,000,000, or an average of £13 a head, while 15,000,000 own £13,660,000,000 or over £900 a head. With such a distribution of wealth as this, accepting the figures of those who use them to show the enormously wealthy condition of the wage earners, there is still the need for Socialism. While those who work hard and long have for their share £13, and those who work little or not at all have £900, there is still need for earnest effort to secure legislation which will promote a more equitable distribution of the national wealth.

The Battle in Birmingham.

MUNICIPALISATION VERSUS MILLIONAIRES AND MONOPOLY.

What has now developed into a pitched battle between Monopoly and Municipalisation is being fought out in Birmingham. The occasion of the conflict is the promotion of a new municipal General Powers Bill, which contains clauses enabling the Corporation to run trams, compel landlord improvements, and regulate certain industries in the interest of the community. The British Electric Traction Company and the Property Owners' Association have united forces in the fray. The hoardings are covered with mendacious statements to the effect that municipal trams in Newcastle, Leeds, Sheffield, and other places are being run at a loss, and generally that Municipal Socialism spells ruin to the ratepayers.

It is understood that Mr. Pierpoint Morgan (who holds £400,000 of shares in the British Electric Traction Company) and other American speculators are deeply interested in the Anti-Municipal crusade. It is, indeed, rumoured that these gentlemen are hatching a scheme for acquiring a monopoly over all the unmunicipalised tram areas in Britain. The appearance on British platforms of the Hon. Robert Porter, of the Standard Oil Trust, as an advocate of private monopoly is a not insignificant fact. Meanwhile the Trades Council, the I.L.P., and the Socialist Centre, together with many progressive Liberals, are enthusiastically organising the front of battle for Municipalisation; and at a recent Town Hall meeting a resolution in favour of the Bill was carried unanimously. The question is to be submitted to a vote of the ratepayers after the November elections. One of the features of the contest is the active part which Mr. Arthur Chamberlain and his son-in-law, J. S. Nettlefold, are taking in supporting the private monopoly campaign.

Parliamentary Vacancy at Cleveland.

Following upon the announcement of the impending retirement of Mr. Alfred Pease, the Liberal member for the Cleveland Division, the local I.L.P. and the National Council have been active in endeavouring to promote a Labour candidature in the division. The Chairman of the I.L.P. was early upon the scene, and was followed by J. Keir Hardie and the General Secretary, who addressed two large public meetings in the division. J. B. Stubbs, the secretary of the New Marske I.L.P., who has great influence with the miners in the neighbourhood, has contributed much by his activity to the success of these and former I.L.P. meetings in the constituency.

It should be noticed that during the past few years considerable I.L.P. and Fabian propaganda has been carried on in the division, with the result that the Miners' Association joined the Labour Representation Committee, and a wide feeling was created in favour of the constituency being represented by a Labour member. This feeling has been greatly stimulated by the prompt intervention of the I.L.P. at the present juncture, and has led the Miners' Association to invite the Labour Representation Committee to consult with the local Labour representatives. A preliminary conference has already been held, and a further conference takes place on Saturday the 13th, when it is hoped a definite decision to run a Labour candidate will be come to. The circumstance that the majority of the Miners' delegates are still attached to the Liberal Association, and that the latter has the name of Mr. Philip Stanhope before it, adds uncertainty to the issue.

The constituency is a very wide one, and embraces 70 towns and villages grouped under 25 polling stations.

The October Magazines.

In the *Monthly Review*, Elybacher pleads for Lord Rosebery and his vague gospel of Liberal Imperialism and Efficiency. Nothing is said of his views on Social and Labour questions. The Americans, according to the *New Liberal Review*, are beginning those great national undertakings—the covering of the whole country with electric tramways, the cutting of the inter-oceanic canal, and the irrigation of 530 million acres of arid land in the far West. The *Westminster Review* thinks that the plan of the Rhodes scholarships will fail, as acute young business men from the colonies will not find anything they will want to learn at Oxford. The *Humanitarian* contains an article against vivisection. The *Municipal Reformer* is full of valuable information for those who are conducting local contests in November on independent lines. There is a page on municipal election law. The *Municipal Journal* is devoting much attention to the capitalists' campaign against the Birmingham City Council's proposal to manage its own tramways.

Macmillan's Magazine contains an interesting article on the English business man by E. Vernède. The English business man chooses his subordinates on principles of nepotism and chance rather than of special education. He believes in secrecy and his own infallibility. He hates theories, though he has plenty of theories of his own, e.g., that his own success is due to industry and method, that any industrious servant can become a master, and that short hours, Trade Union wages, and a love of sport (when found among working men) will ruin the country.

In the *Century* is an illustrated account of prophet Dowie of Chicago and a study of the sense of humour in children. Up to the age of ten years most children find fun in the fact that someone else suffers while they look on or are themselves the tricksters; after that age their sense of humour becomes more varied, as it is influenced by their education. Girls are less brutal and egoistic in their humour.

Wells continues his essays on things in general in the *Fortnightly*. This month he tells us that special research into the laws of heredity and of breeding should be encouraged and endowed; at present he believes that criminals and drunkards are manufactured rather by environment than by heredity. In the same magazine Max Nordau writes on the conditions of success. When hunger and love are satisfied, ambition is the great motive of human action. This is the desire for power, and the quality of the power desired depends upon temperament and training. The desires for fame and for making millions of money are foolish and anti-social. The lowest ambition is that of the vulgar publican, the highest that of the cultured philanthropist. In politics one can aim at being the parasite and corrupter or the critic and educator of the people. The greater the number of ambitious politicians of the latter sort, the better for a nation; and if men will be contented with provincial work, there are countless spheres of usefulness at hand. There is a terrible waste of mediocre talent to-day in the form of literary output on the part of amateurs who overrate their own abilities.

J. A. FALLAWS.

C. A. Glyde has just concluded a second very successful lecturing tour in South Wales.

What the I.L.P. is Doing.

The N.A.C. is convening a meeting of Lancashire branches to be held at Bolton on Saturday, November 29th.

A new I.L.P. branch has been formed at Colne—in the Clitheroe division.

The Blackburn I.L.P. is running two candidates for the municipal elections.

Keighley I.L.P., in association with the Clarion Vocal Union, is making preparations for a grand Bazaar to be held at Christmas.

The I.L.P. and Labour Church Carnival which has just been held at Bradford has resulted in a profit of about £100.

Halifax I.L.P. held its Anniversary Services on September 28th. Will Crooks, the Mayor of Poplar, was the speaker. Collections over £30!

Brighouse branch, which was the most successful of all the I.L.P. branches in the municipal elections last year, is actively at work determined this time to do still better.

Preston branch made a profit of £30 on its guild festivities. The branch has by an overwhelming vote decided not to change to "The Socialist Society."

A. J. Jackson, the Secretary of the Derby I.L.P., intends, in response to the request of the N.A.C., to devote some spare time to organising work in the neighbourhood.

"The Anti-Municipal Conspiracy Exposed" is the latest London City Branch pamphlet. It is an up-to-date statement on the great municipalisation controversy, and should be pushed at every branch meeting. The price is one penny.

Under the auspices of the National Council and the South Wales I.L.P. Federation a series of twelve or fourteen meetings will be addressed by J. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Philip Snowden. The meetings will be held in the largest halls and well advertised.

The Crewe Trades Council has affiliated with the Labour Representation Committee, and has decided to put forward candidates at the approaching municipal elections. One of the candidates selected by the Council is W. Williams, the active and able secretary of the local I.L.P.

S. D. Shallard is doing invaluable work in connection with the Municipalisation struggle in Birmingham. He is referred to as "The man of facts and figures"; and the office of the Birmingham Socialist Centre, of which he is secretary, has become the headquarters of the agitation in favour of municipalisation.

The annual Larnier Sugden Memorial Lecture was given by J. W. Mackail in the William Morris Labour Church at Leek. Raymond Unwin occupied the chair, and the proceedings were simple and impressive. Mr. Mackail's address will be issued as a memorial pamphlet.

Farnworth I.L.P. held its annual tea and social on September 12th. Friends from the surrounding districts turned up in considerable numbers and helped to make the gathering the great success it was. Philip Snowden was present and addressed a few words of encouragement. Mrs. Bruce Glasier addressed two successful meetings on October 5th.

Huddersfield I.L.P. joined with the Trades Council, Free Churches, and Liberal Association in a great demonstration against the Education Bill which was held last Saturday. Philip Snowden spoke as the I.L.P. representative. He had a most appreciative reception, and his straight appeal to raise the education question from the platform of sectarianism to citizenship was heartily applauded.

J. A. Fallows, M.A., who is contesting the Bordesley Ward at the Birmingham Municipal elections, is alarming friends and foes alike by the amazing candour of his utterances. "I have never in all my life been discreet," he told one of his audiences, "and I never intend to be discreet." Among his qualifications for the office of municipal councillor was, he said, his youth. "I am exactly thirty-eight years nine months," he confided, "whereas most of the Liberals in the Council are old men with one foot in the grave. It would be better if they had both feet there." At another meeting he said, "One of my chief qualifications is that I do not drop my 'h's' in speaking as many Labour representatives do." Mr. Fallows avows and expounds his Socialism in season and out of season. He was recently returned unopposed to the Kings Norton Board of Guardians.

KEIGHLEY. All the five wards are being contested by the I.L.P., as was done last year. There are three Liberal and two Tory retiring Councillors.

KINNING PARK. The Glasgow Executive has founded a new branch in the Kinning Park district of the city, and the branch has already one of its members, Peter Arnott, in the field as a candidate for Kinning Park Town Council.

CARDIFF. The first season of I.L.P. open-air lectures in Cardiff was concluded by a week's series of lectures by C. A. Glyde, of Bradford. The meetings were very successful and brought in 19 new members. Indoor meetings will now be held every Sunday night.

ATTERCLIFFE. The branch began its winter campaign on Saturday, October 4th, by a very successful tea and social. It is expected that a profit of about £7 will be cleared. On the Sunday following Philip Snowden spoke twice in the large Vestry Hall to splendid meetings. Collections £4, and many new members. After the evening meeting he held a profitable conference with the members.

LONG EATON. A social gathering of the members was held on Saturday, Sept. 20th, to promote the work of the branch during the winter. E. R. Newbery presided, and after tea Bruce Glasier, the Chairman of the Party, who broke his journey *en route* to Birmingham to take part in the conference, gave a highly interesting and encouraging statement regarding the work and organisation of the Party.

LEICESTER. The success of the Sunday evening meetings which have been transferred from the Corn Exchange to the new Shoe Operatives Hall is now fully assured. The Hall is one of the finest in the Midlands. S. D. Shallard gave the harvest festival address. The parliamentary candidature of J. R. Macdonald has recently received many important resolutions of approval in Trade Unions.

YORK.—Encouraged by the success of the late summer propaganda, Fred Morley, the secretary, is already communicating with leading speakers for next summer's campaign. He is endeavouring to secure a week's course of systematic lectures from each speaker, in order that the principles of Socialism and their application to present-day possibilities may be laid as instructively as possible before the public. The branch is also taking joint action with Trade Union organisations to promote a parliamentary candidature at the next election.

AYRSHIRE FEDERATION. Great efforts have been put forth to make the forthcoming I.L.P. and Fellowship Bazaar an unqualified success. The Bazaar will be held in the Agricultural Hall, Kilmarnock, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the 16th, 17th, and 18th October. Professor Robertson Watson, M.A., will open the Bazaar on the first day, M. Blatchford (Mont Blong) on the Friday, and J. Keir Hardie, M.P., on the Saturday. A great variety of entertainments have been arranged, and it is hoped that from far and near Socialists and sympathisers will make it a duty and a pleasure to visit the Bazaar.

LIVERPOOL. The indoor winter lecture course in the Alexandra Hall was begun on Sunday the 5th with two lectures by J. Bruce Glasier. The Labour Representation Council, to which are affiliated the I.L.P., the Fabian and S.D.F., together with a number of Trade Unions, have decided to contest the Low Hill and Edge Hill wards with N. Donovan and R. C. Faulkner respectively. Both are members of the I.L.P., and their long connection with the Socialist movement is a guarantee that if returned they will not restrict their attention to questions of wages and Trade Union clauses. A. Wood is acting as Election Agent for Low Hill ward and T. W. Morrissey for the Edge Hill ward contests.

BRADFORD. The I.L.P. in Bradford is putting forward three candidates for the Town Council this November, viz., A. W. Goodison (East Ward), Alf. Heaton (Bradford Moor), and Fred Bramley (West Bierley). It is also supporting the Teachers' candidate, John Cryer (Manningham), and the three candidates of the Workers' Municipal Election Federation—T. Delbridge (Heaton), W. C. Hardaker (West Bowling), and A. N. Harris (Lister Hills). Heaton, Cryer, and Harris are opposed by both Liberals and Tories; Delbridge and Hardaker by Tories; and Bramley by a Liberal. A four days' Bazaar, in aid of the I.L.P. and Labour Church, was opened on September 24th by Robert Blatchford. It is expected that there will be a handsome surplus.

Independent Labour Party.

HEAD OFFICE, 10, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET,
LONDON, E.C.

All inquiries with respect to the I.L.P. should be addressed to the above office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming branches are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

I.L.P. PUBLICATIONS.

The Platform. One Penny Weekly.

Members' Pence Cards.—4d. per doz., post free.

Rules.—To insert in Pence Cards (with rubber bands), 4d. per doz.

CAROLINE MARTYN MEMORIAL LIBRARY.

No. 2. *Independent Labour Party.*—Statement of Principles. Leaflet, 4pp. Price, 4/6 per 1,000.

No. 3. *A Labour Catechism.*—Leaflet, 4pp., arranged in question and answer form. Price, 4/6 per 1,000.

I.L.P. News.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Subscription Rates: One year, 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month, 1½d. Post free. For advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News."

HEAD OFFICE, 10, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET,
LONDON, E.C.

No. 67.

OCTOBER, 1902.

German Socialist Congress.

It is with no little satisfaction that we gather from the press reports of the Annual German Socialist Congress, recently held at Munich, that the movement for freedom of thought and a policy of progress which proclaimed itself so earnestly at last year's Congress has this year assumed hopeful dimensions. We are no less glad to note that the temper of the Congress towards freedom of opinion affords hope that the new movement will not be compelled to take a secessionist course, but that the general party will eventually accept its initiative and advance all along the line from the bondage of the Marxian tradition. The German movement is passing through a somewhat similar phase to that which the English Socialist movement passed through ten years ago, when the I.L.P. found it necessary to create a new party. It is certain that in Germany, as in this country, the new movement will not submit to repression; and should the Marxist section insist upon closing the book of Social Democracy against new ideas and new methods a disruption in the party must follow.

The Bernstein controversy is only an external incident; the forward movement is deeper and more profound in its Socialist faith than perhaps Bernstein himself understands. An important sign of the spirit of change that is stirring German Socialist thought is to be found in the decision of the Congress to refer Dr. Lindemann's resolution embodying a progressive municipal programme to the consideration of next year's Congress. This is, we understand, the first occasion on which the German Socialists in congress have agreed to put forward for discussion a municipal programme on the lines similar to those adopted by Socialists in this country.

Zola.

The death of M. Zola takes away from the world a writer of remarkable genius, whose pen, however erratically, pleaded constantly for freedom and the cause of the people. His death, just at a time when his social conceptions were ripening and his personal influence for reform was becoming a national and international power, is a great misfortune, and we join with the Socialists in France in laying a tribute of admiration and regret on his grave.

It is altogether very doubtful whether the so-called realism of many of the scenes and characters in his books constitutes art or conveys an essentially scientific impression of the facts of life which he sought to portray. Realism, in the true sense, does not, we think, consist in bringing into glaring relief the animal protrusions of the human body or mind. Human life, like the human body, can doubtless with literal exactness be represented as a reservoir of disgusting animal fermentations, but the representation is none the less a grotesque and monstrous one. Nor is it likely that the obtrusion of the physical sensations of human vice and misery tends eventually to excite us either to revolt or remedy against their foulness. The conventions which pertain to the inspiring art of all ages are not of the nature of glosses, but are truthful modes of presenting to our minds the essentials of such human and spiritual facts as literature and art are capable of delineating.

But whatever be the faults of Zola's literary method—however much he may have been misled by his theory of literalism, and his no less doubtful theories of heredity and destiny—he remains to us a writer of great imagination, and a philosopher of rare sympathy with the suffering lot of the poor and oppressed. Perhaps his books may not sustain their present place in the order of literary fame, but there will remain to his name the glory of being an undaunted friend of freedom and a bold advocate of national uprightness and high social ideals.

The St. Helens Boycott.

In his weekly article under the heading of "Labour and Progress" in the *Manchester Evening News* for the 4th inst., Mr. Fred Brocklehurst discusses with much clearness and force the issues raised by the St. Helens Co-operative boycott. It appears that the struggle is going on with great determination on both sides. The private traders, however, are the aggressors, and the co-operators are acting only on the defensive. So comprehensive is the attempted boycott that it is said to include customers of the stores, tradesmen who do any work for them, bankers who bank their money, doctors who attend their sick, and even clergymen or ministers who give evidence of any sympathy with them. The local shop assistants have joined hands with their employers in the struggle, though whether from conviction or coercion we do not know.

In fighting the Co-operative Stores at St. Helens the private traders are fighting, Mr. Brocklehurst points out, one of the greatest trading industries of the town. It occupies the finest business premises and has a turnover of over £250,000 a year. It is calculated that its membership is representative of half the population of the

town. In embarking upon a struggle against an organisation of these dimensions the private traders have undertaken what seems to be a self-ruinous task. They have arrayed against them not merely the material interests of half the population but the moral conviction of the most self-respecting section of the working-class citizens. For industrial co-operation, as Mr. Brocklehurst rightly remarks, is more than a mere combination of consumers. It partakes of the characteristics of a social religion, and although the bulk of St. Helens co-operators may be uninfluenced by its higher aims, nevertheless the responsible heads of the movement—those who are the legitimate successors of the Rochdale pioneers—see in the attack of the St. Helens traders a menace to a great democratic and civilising force. This is a point which is not sufficiently recognised by critics of co-operation.

Evidently the private traders have no comprehension of the "inevitable power" of co-operation against which they have set their spring guns and man traps. Mr. Brocklehurst quotes the last published returns, which show that the co-operative stores in the United Kingdom have a membership of close upon two millions. Their share capital stands at over twenty-four and a half millions, and their assets in the form of buildings, land, machinery, stock, etc., stands at thirty-eight and a half millions. But the co-operative movement is wider than even these figures show. It is not confined to working-class stores. There are the Army and Navy Stores, the Household Stores, and other middle-class co-operative institutions. And what are the trusts and combines which have floated over from the Atlantic but embodiments of the same principle—the principle that it is better to co-operate for common ends than fight each man in isolated battle for his own hand?

That a great difference of principle exists between working-class co-operation and capitalist trusts and combines Mr. Brocklehurst does not fail to note. A combination of capitalists or shopkeepers is a combination of a few individuals against the general public. That they serve the public is an incidental result, not a primary object. Industrial stores on the other hand are essentially combines of the public to preserve themselves against the waste and extortion of trading carried on for private advantage of the few. The one may become a danger to the community, the other cannot. Nevertheless, as the conflict at St. Helens shows, the private traders can only attempt to contest the ground with co-operation by themselves co-operating for that purpose. That is the irony and at the same time the logic of the situation at St. Helens. It shows by the very fact of the collective action of the shop-keepers that the principle of free individualist enterprise, for which they are supposed to be contending, is already doomed, if not extinct. The boycott therefore resolves itself into a struggle, not of free competition against co-operation, but of a combination of the few—the shop-keepers—against a combination of the many—the industrial consumers.

We agree with Mr. Brocklehurst in thinking that the policy adopted by the St. Helens traders in persecuting clerks and domestic servants, by seeking to deprive them of their occupations and their board and lodgings, is a puny policy and one that is foredoomed to failure. Trusts can only be fought by counter trusts, and industrial co-operation can only be jeopardised by great capitalist combines that will seek to afford the public greater advantages than are offered by the people's stores.

The City of London branch is to be congratulated on its prompt publication of "The Anti-Municipal Conspiracy Exposed," by H. T. Muggeridge. The pamphlet exhibits in a striking fashion the predatory character of the Anti-Municipal crusade, and deals trenchantly with the *Times'* and other misstatements. It should be vigorously pushed by every I.L.P. branch.

Universal alarm and regret was created throughout the movement by the announcement that J. Keir Hardie, M.P., had been suddenly seized with a dangerous illness on the eve of lecturing in Dundee on the 20th of last month. Happily the illness did not prove as serious as was at first announced, and Mr. Hardie has already in a great measure recovered. He has, however, been warned that he is greatly overtaxing his strength; a warning which everyone who knows the ceaseless work and anxiety of his life during the past ten years will endorse.

The attention of Lancashire I.L.P. branches is drawn to the General Secretary's announcement concerning the special organising meeting which is to be held at Bolton on Saturday, 29th November. The meeting is convened by the National Council and is for the purpose of bringing the Lancashire branches into closer touch, and increasing the strength and efficiency of the movement in Lancashire. Each I.L.P. branch is invited to send not less than two delegates, but it is hoped that there will be a large attendance of members in addition to this, as the Conference will be chiefly of a consultative and introductory character. J. Bruce Glasier, Philip Snowden, Jas. Parker, and the General Secretary will attend on behalf of the Council.

A circular signed by T. D. Benson, Treasurer of the I.L.P., and Keir Hardie has been issued to the branches. The circular invites the branches to assist in an effort to raise £500 a year, in addition to the present affiliation fees. From the terms of the appeal it will be seen that it is highly important that the proposal should be immediately responded to, and we trust every branch and every member will immediately do their duty in the matter.

W. F. Black has, we are glad to be informed, accepted the invitation of the I.L.P. and the Dundee Central Workers' Committee to contest the constituency at the next Parliamentary Election. His candidature at once takes rank as one of the foremost and most hopeful Labour candidatures in the country. Mr. Black possesses admirable qualifications as a Labour representative. His Socialist and Labour principles may be said to be lifelong. He was one of the earliest members of the I.L.P., and there are few men who possess a more intimate knowledge of Land and Labour problems in Scotland. As a journalist he has constantly interested himself in the life and work of the common people, and during the past dozen years has made it a duty to be present at every Trade Union Congress.

The debate between Philip Snowden and Mr. Tomkinson, M.P. for the Crewe Division, was in one respect very disappointing. It was really no debate. Mr. Tomkinson refused to fight, honestly declaring after Mr.

Snowden's first speech that if it was to be a fight it would be a poor look-out for him. He contented himself by agreeing generally with Mr. Snowden, but thought Mr. Snowden's picture of the industrial misery of the country too blackly coloured and his reform proposals a little too drastic for immediate application. There was really, in his opinion, no need for any conflict between Socialists and Liberals. When next the Liberals came into office they would carry us well forward towards Socialism by giving us taxation of land values, temperance reform, and compulsory arbitration. Mr. Tomkinson is clearly a well meaning and somewhat enlightened old gentleman, with whom it seems harsh to argue too seriously.

In a letter which Mr. Herbert A. Day, of Norwich, has sent to the Co-operative and reform press, he calls attention to the important part which the Co-operative movement might play in promoting adequate parliamentary and municipal representation, to deal with the Land and Housing questions, which he considers are all important at the present moment. The Co-operative movement is, he rightly thinks, in a favourable position to undertake this duty. In nearly every industrial town in England there is, he points out, a Co-operative Society making reasonable profits, and each of these might, without much self-sacrifice, set apart at least a tenth part of its profits for this important object.

Mr. Day instances the Co-operative Society of Norwich—the town in which he lives—and it is by no means the most favourable instance that might be cited. During last year it distributed in dividends nearly £12,000 or about £2 4s. a member. A tenth of this sum or a penny a week would provide £1,300, with which sum ten working-class representatives on local bodies and one member of parliament would be maintained and their election expenses met.

That some such scheme as Mr. Day urges will soon be taken into serious consideration by the more progressive and more alert Co-operative Societies, need hardly be doubted. While, however, we would rejoice to see co-operators in any town taking upon themselves the responsibility of furnishing means for the maintenance of ten representatives on their local bodies and a representative in parliament, we would point out that the co-operators by joining with the united Labour Representation Committees could secure an even more satisfactory result, and at very much less outlay from their Co-operative funds. A penny a month instead of a penny a week would be amply sufficient for all immediate purposes.

At Nelson, Lancashire, there are branches of the I.L.P. and S.D.F. Until recently the two organisations have worked together for local election purposes, and a joint committee conducted a monthly journal. Owing, however, to the hostility of the S.D.F. towards Mr. Shackleton's candidature, and to the abuse of the I.L.P. by W. Gee, an S.D.F. lecturer, the I.L.P. has now severed its connection with the S.D.F. The journal has become the property of the S.D.F. and the first number under the new proprietorship is mainly devoted to abuse and misrepresentation of the I.L.P.

Councillor Robert Morley, of Halifax, is one of the candidates nominated for the post of parliamentary representative of the Ironmoulders' Society. The list of selected names is about to be put to a ballot of the members.

The Birmingham Campaign.

The I.L.P. in Birmingham has thrown itself vigorously into the struggle for the right of municipal enterprise, and is working in hearty co-operation with the Citizens' Committee, which consists of delegates from the Trades Council, the I.L.P., and the Birmingham Socialist Centre. One of the most important contests in connection with the municipal elections is being fought by J. A. Fallows, M.A., in behalf of the I.L.P. in the Bordesley Ward. The ward is several square miles in extent and contains over 11,000 voters, and the campaign there will almost reach the dimensions of a Parliamentary contest. The Trades Council has endorsed Mr. Fallows' candidature, and many Trade Unions have appointed delegates to his committee. Alf. Hunt is acting as secretary of the committee, and a qualified election agent has been appointed.

Municipal Coal Supply.

The important question of the right of municipalities to supply coal to the ratepayers was raised in a novel fashion at a recent meeting of the Bury Town Council. It seems that the Elton Co-operative Dyeing Co. Ltd. had made application to be supplied with coal by the Gas Committee. The committee reported to the Council that it could not see its way to comply with the request, whereupon Dr. Greenhalgh, the recently elected I.L.P. councillor, challenged the decision of the Gas Committee. He pointed out that the Committee was already supplying coke, and he did not see why it should not supply coal. He congratulated the Co-operative Dyeing Co. upon its enterprise in making the application and moved that the decision of the committee be referred back. Mr. R. Kay seconded. The chairman of the Gas Committee objected that it would make the Gas Committee into a trading concern, and they would want a separate department formed. The Town Clerk declared that the Corporation had no power to supply coal. Dr. Greenhalgh thereupon withdrew his amendment and gave notice of a resolution that the Council apply for statutory powers by a bill in Parliament to supply coal.

I.L.P. Demonstration at Southport.

In connection with the meeting of the National Council at Southport a Demonstration was held under the auspices of the Southport branch in the Temperance Institute on Monday, 29th September. There was a large audience, which included a considerable portion of middle-class residents. Leonard Hall occupied the chair, and was supported on the platform by J. Bruce Glasier, John Penny, Philip Snowden, F. W. Jowett, Jas. Parker, and Wm. Varley, secretary of the branch. In opening the proceedings Leonard Hall expressed deep regret at the absence of J. Keir Hardie, M.P., owing to illness, and spoke in high terms of his services to the cause of Labour and Socialism. He then in a characteristically bold and epigrammatic speech set forth the aims of Socialism and the policy of the I.L.P. J. Bruce Glasier, who next addressed the meeting, referred to the remarkable growth of I.L.P. principles among the Trade Unions and dealt with the conflict raging in Birmingham over the question of municipalising the trams and other public services. Philip Snowden, who followed, reviewed the history of the political parties in Britain and appealed eloquently for a new regime of democratic and Socialist effort in Parliament and the nation. F. W. Jowett, in a concluding speech, dwelt upon the important work that had been done, and the further work that must be done, by Labour representatives on public bodies. The receipts of the meeting in collections and subscriptions were highly satisfactory, and a large amount of literature was sold.

A social to welcome the N.A.C. was held by the branch on the Saturday evening. There was a large attendance, and a most enjoyable evening was spent. The branch has expressed much satisfaction at the result of the N.A.C. visit.

Correspondence.

T. CHAMBERS. The paragraph in the *I.L.P. News* to which you refer requires no amplification. It was a public comment on a public matter, viz., the erroneous outside impression that the vote given in connection with the Secretaryship election was a test of the strength of Socialist opinion in the Congress.

Jottings.

By JOHN PENNY.

Before the next issue of the *News* is published the results of the Municipal Elections will be known. I hope to be able to give a comprehensive table showing our gains and losses and the figures polled by I.L.P. candidates. With that object in view, I have to ask secretaries to send me exact result immediately after the declaration of the poll. In past years I have had to hunt up the figures in all kinds of newspapers and press cuttings, and the result has never been satisfactory. If the secretaries will fill up the form on the back of the ordinary report sheet errors will be obviated.

It will be interesting to note, by the way, the effect of the *Times* attack on our policy. The *Times* has been supplying arguments for our adversaries which they will probably use unscrupulously. All the more need, therefore, for strenuous work on the part of our candidates and canvassers.

At the N.A.C. meeting at Southport the candidature of J. R. MacDonald for Leicester was formally endorsed. The situation in a large number of constituencies was considered, but it is advisable not to make any public statement concerning them at present.

Arrangements were put in hand for holding a Conference of Lancashire branches at Bolton on Saturday afternoon, November 29th. Full particulars of same will be sent to the branches concerned in due course. As matters of great importance will be considered at this meeting, branches are urged to do their utmost to be fully represented.

Arrangements were also made for Keir Hardie and Philip Snowden to visit South Wales in November.

The next meeting of the N.A.C. will be held at Blackpool on Monday and Tuesday, December 1st and 2nd.

Bruce Glasier will be in London from November 17th to 21st, and will be glad to meet two or three of the London branches in their rooms to talk over questions of policy and the advancement of the Party in the Metropolitan area.

Labour Representation of Dundee.

Great interest has been excited in Dundee by the recent developments of the Local Labour Representation movement. A public meeting for the purpose of urging the adoption of a Labour Candidate was held on Thursday, 25th September. Although the absence of J. Keir Hardie, M.P., who was to have been chief speaker and who was laid down by a severe illness on his arrival in town, proved a great disappointment to the meeting, the proceedings were highly encouraging. On the following Thursday Keir Hardie—at great personal risk on account of his illness—attended a meeting of the Trades Council and delivered a powerful address on the aims and practical policy of Labour Representation in Parliament. On the same evening the Dundee Municipal Workers' Committee met under the presidency of R. Souter and unanimously agreed to invite Mr. W. F. Black, of the staff of the *People's Journal*, to contest the seat. Simultaneously a meeting of the I.L.P. was held, Mr. A. J. Scott presiding, when a resolution to invite Mr. Black was also unanimously adopted. Mr. Black is well known in Trade Union circles in Scotland and has been connected with the I.L.P. since its formation in Dundee ten years ago. His candidature would undoubtedly be highly popular in the town and would greatly help to advance I.L.P. principles in the East of Scotland.

With Fels-Naptha a half-hour's soaking does half the washing—half the rubbing and half the wear on clothes are avoided.

Your Grocer returns your money if you don't think so. 2½d a bar

Fels-Naptha soap

39, Wilson Street, London, E.C.

PENNY PAMPHLETS.

The Anti-Municipal Conspiracy Exposed. By H. T. MUGGERIDGE (*now ready*). This tract discloses the inner meaning of the *Times*' attack on Municipal Collectivism. Facts up to date, figures reliable. Every Socialist and Municipal Reformer should read it.

Socialism for Children. By KATHERINE BRUCE GLASIER.

William Morris. By J. W. MACKAIL.

Commercialism and Child Labour.

Imperialism: Its meaning and tendency.

Labour Laws for Women: Their reason and their results. 3rd Edition.

The Independent Labour Party: What it is, and where it stands.

Real Socialism. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

I.L.P. Office, 10, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

CABINET PHOTOGRAPHS

OF
J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Philip Snowden, J. R. Macdonald, James Parker, T. D. Benson, F. W. Jowett, and John Penny.

SIXPENCE EACH. SEVENPENCE POST FREE.

TENTH ANNUAL REPORT of the INDEPENDENT—LABOUR PARTY.

Contains 56 pages of interesting matter: N.A.C. Report, Conference Report, List of Delegates, Balance Sheet, Directories of Branches and Elected Persons, etc.

Price Twopence. Threepence Post Free.

THE PLATFORM

Each Copy comprises Twenty up-to-date Leaflets.

ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

Five copies (100 leaflets) sent post free to any address for 6d.
Eleven copies (220 leaflets) for 1/-.

A New Leaflet every week.

DISTRIBUTE THE PLATFORM.

GOOD PROPAGANDA WORK FOR ALL TO DO.

Published at the I.L.P. Office, 10, Red Lion Court,
Fleet Street, London, E.C.

The Reformers' Year Book: 1902 (formerly THE LABOUR ANNUAL).

Edited and Published by Joseph Edwards, Kirkintilloch, Glasgow.

Cr. 8vo. 192 pages. Illustrated with numerous portraits.

Net prices: 2/- in art linen; 1/- in paper. By parcel post, 3d. extra. Articles, Biographies, Directories, and Reports. Very extensive Directory of Social and Political Reformers.

Should be in the hands of every member of the I.L.P.

The Editor specially appeals to all branches to send for a parcel for sale to members and others. 6 copies, 5/6; 12 copies, 10/-; 27 copies, 21/-. Cloth copies count double. Carriage paid, cash with order.

Order through your local branch, or send direct, with remittance, to Editor and Publisher, Joseph Edwards, Kirkintilloch, Glasgow.

MONTHLY REPORT FROM HEAD OFFICE.

OCTOBER, 1902.

60 Branches paid Fees in September.
50 " sent reports without fees.
100 " sent neither fees nor reports.

The income of the Head Office during September was:—

Affiliation Fees	...	£19	13	3
Sales	...	48	3	7
National Branch	...	1	9	6
Election Fund	...	0	9	0
Donations	...	10	0	0
Sundries	...	11	11	3½
		£91	6	7½

The Branch Report Sheet for October must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

NATIONAL BRANCH.—The National Branch of the I.L.P. is open to Socialists who endorse the objects and methods of the Party, but who are unable, through geographical or other difficulties, to join a local Branch. Members of the National Branch receive copies of all the official publications of the Party. **SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1902 ARE NOW DUE**, and should be sent to the Head Office. The amount of subscription is left to the discretion of the member.

CONSTITUTION.—Copies of the Constitution of the Party may be obtained from Head Office, price Fourpence per dozen, post free. Pence Cards are supplied at the same price. Samples on application.

UNATTACHED SYMPATHISERS.—Branches are recommended to prepare lists of known sympathisers in their districts. Such people should be asked to subscribe to the funds of the Party if they cannot see their way to become members. A printed form of invitation may be obtained from the Head Office, price 1s. 6d. per 100, post free.

OUR ELECTED PERSONS.—We are at all times glad to hear what our members on public bodies are doing. If comrades will supply us with reports or marked copies of newspapers containing records of their work, we shall be very greatly obliged.

NEW BRANCHES.

ABERAMAN S.S.—Secretary, W. W. Price, Bryn Cottage, Hill Street, Aberaman, Aberdare.

COLNE.—Secretary, Bryan Chapman, 30, Market Street, Colne.

FERNDALE.—Secretary, J. H. Meecham, 2, Fountain Street, Ferndale.

NEW SECRETARIES.

BLACKBURN.—Walter Hobkirk, 13, Montagu Street, Blackburn.

BURY.—J. A. Pilling, I.L.P. Club, Cross Street, Bury.

EDINBURGH.—J. Dawson Crawford, M.A., 429, Lawnmarket.

GOVAN.—John Fulton, 106, McLellan Street, Govan.

MIDDLETON.—James Partington, 60, Old Hall Street, Middleton.

SPRINGBURN.—Lamont Ross, 107, Gourlay Street, Glasgow.

Branch Fees and Reports.

Branches marked with an asterisk (*) pay fees quarterly.

The following Branches paid fees in September:—

Ashton No. 2 4s. 3d., Barnsley 6s. 1d., Birmingham West 3s., Bootle 1s. 6d., Bordesley 2s. 6d., Bury paid, Camlachie 15s., Cardiff 2s. 6d., Carnoustie 1s., Chelmsford 2s. 6d., Chorlton 12s., Clapham 3s., Consett 3s., Cwmavon 1s., Darlington 2s. 10d., Dunfermline 3s., Edinburgh 16s. 3d., *Gateshead 17s. 6d., Glossop 3s., Gorton 4s. 6d., *Hollinwood 18s., Hyde 8s. 4d., Keighley 5s., *Leeds North 12s. 6d., Leeds West paid, Leicester paid, Leith 1s. 8d., Littleborough 2s., Liverpool 10s., *Long Eaton 10s. 6d.,

*Longwood 6s. 9d., Manchester Central 2s. 1d., *Middleton, £1. Milnsbridge paid, New Marske 1s. 6d., Newton Heath 8s. 4d., Norwich 7s. 6d., Nottingham 2s. 3d., *Oldham Central £1. Oldham 2s. 6d., Pennydarren £1, Preston 13s. 6d., Rotherham 5s., St. Helens S.S. 3s. 3d., Salford North 4s. 3d., Shrewsbury S.S. paid, South Bank 1s. 2d., Southport 1s. 8d., Springburn 1s. 6d., Smethwick 1s. 6d., South Shields 2s. 6d., Stockton & Thornaby 4s. 2d., *Sutton-in-Ashfield 2s., Swansea S.S. 11s. 3d., *Tantobie 5s., Wakefield 4s. 2d., Warrington 3s. 6d., *West Ham South 15s., Woolwich 5s. 1d., *Workington 10s., *York £1 15s. (60.)

The following Branches sent Reports without Fees:—

Aberaman S.S., *Annfield Plain, Arbroath, *Attercliffe, *Barrow *Bentham, Birmingham Central, Birmingham South, Blackburn Bradford, Bridgeton, *Brighouse, *Brynmawr, Colne, *College, *Crewe, Derby, Dundee, Ferndale, Finsbury, Fulham, Gillingham, Gloucester, *Govan, Hackney, Halifax, Hartlepool, Kettering, Kilmarnock, *Leeds Central, Lewisham, *London City, Merthyr, *Musselburgh, *Nelson, Newcastle, *Ossett, Rochdale, *Rothwell, St. Pancras, Salford West, Selly Oak, Shildon, Sowerby, Stockport, *Sunderland, Thornhill Lees, *West Bromwich, North-West Ham, Yeadon (50).

The following Branches sent neither Reports nor Fees:—

Aberdare, Ashton (No. 1), Aston, Ayr, Ayrshire Central, *Bedlinog, Berkeley, Bermondsey, Blantyre, Brechin, Burslem, Calton, Cannock, Cheltenham, Chester, Chesterfield, Cleckheaton, Clydebank, *Colne Valley, *Cowdenbeath, Crook, Crosskeys, Crosshills, Crumpsall, Dalmeilington, Dalserf Lanward, Darwen, Dowlais, *Dudley, East Ham, Eccles, Failsworth, Falkirk, Farnworth, *Felling, *Glasgow City, *Gloucestershire S., Grimsby, Hands-worth, *Hawick, *Hexham, Horwich, *Huddersfield, Hull, East Hunslet, West Hunslet, Hutchesontown, Inverness, Jarrow, North Kensington, Kirriemuir, Langley Mill, Lesmahagow, Limehouse, *Lye, Macclesfield, Maesycwmmmer, East Manchester, North Manchester, Mansfield, Merthyr Vale, Mexborough, Middlesbrough, Montrose, *Mossley, Motherwell, New Cumnock, *Openshaw, Oakworth, Oswestry, Paisley, Partick, Pendlebury, Pontypridd, Portsmouth, Pudsey, Renfrew, Rishton, *Rutherglen, *St. Rollox, *Spennymoor, Spen Colliery, Spen Valley S.S., Stalybridge, *Stewarton, Stroud, Tottenham, Townhill, Tradeston, Troedyrhiw, Usworth, Vale of Leven, Walkden, *Wednesbury, Wellington, Westwood, Wishaw, Wolverhampton, *Yarmouth, Ystalyfera. (100.)

OTHER CASH RECEIVED IN SEPTEMBER.

Sales.—Woolwich 5s., Derby 3s., Bootle 3s. 6d., Nottingham £1 3s. 9d., South West Ham 3s. 8d., Glossop 7s. 9d., Finsbury 15s., Falkirk 15s. 3d., Aston (No. 2) 3s., Brynmawr and Blaina 1s. 10d., Motherwell 5s. 6d., Southport 12s. 9d., Yeadon 2s. 9d., Musselburgh 3s., Consett 1s. 6d., Oldham 4s., Wakefield 16s., Long Eaton 4s. 3d., Rothwell 2d., North Salford 3s. 1d., Dowlais 3s. 9d., Gorton 3s. 1d., Cwmavon 15s. 2d., Smith & Sons £3 0s. 11d., Birmingham Central 2s. 3d., Sowerby £1 4s. 8d., South Shields 3s. 11d., Ferndale 6s. 2d., Pennydarren 1s., Felling 5s. 4d., Smethwick Workington 16s. 1½d., Shrewsbury S.S. 2s. 6d., Norwich 4s. 6d., Cardiff 10s. 7½d., Stockton 2s. 4d., Twentieth Century Press 7s. 7d., Chorlton-on-Medlock 7s. 6d., Chelmsford 1s. 6d., Littleborough 2s., Clydebank 1s., Blackburn 2s. 4d., Keighley 9s. 10d., Barrow 1s. 6d., Tantobie 15s. 6d., Liverpool £1 4s. 7½d., Glasgow C.C.C. 14s., Preston 18s. 9d., Carnoustie 5d., Colne 2s. 8d., Birmingham West 3s., Newton Heath 6s. 2d., Office Sales £27 11s. 10½d. Total £48 3s. 7d.

National Branch.—John Tamlyn 2s., J. Sparling 2s. 6d., A. Sparling 2s. 6d., F. Knee 1s., H. Bodell-Smith 2s., Jas. Sims 5s., Mr. and Mrs. Frank Sproson 3s. 6d., G. D. Blogg 2s. 6d., N. Gartside 2s. 6d., A. Wilson 1s., C. J. Money 5s. Total £1 9s. 6d.

Election Fund.—Sowerby 6s. 6d., W. Frith Bryden, 2s. 6d. Total 9s.

Donation.—W.M. £10.

Sundries.—Metropolitan Council £9 0s. 9½d., J. £2 10s., Barrow 6d. Total £11 11s. 3½d.

(Signed) JOHN PENNY,



THE word "revolt" will bring to some readers' eyes visions of barricades in the streets, burning houses, and falling churches, and he will fancy he hears the roll of musketry and the groans of the wounded.

He need not be unduly alarmed, however. The Independent Labour Party does not preach physical force or mob law. The revolt spoken of here is a very different kind of thing.

Let us see what this revolt means. It means the growing up of an independent frame of mind among the workers. It means discontent on their part with things as they are, and a determination to think out their own salvation. There could be no greater revolt than this.

We may say that this revolt dates from the extension of education facilities in 1870. Prior to that time comparatively few working people could read or write. They had not even the rudiments of education. They were in a state of ignorance, and ignorant people are contented with very low conditions of life. They accept all kinds of superstitions as gospel. The working man used to look up to the wealthier members of society as beings of a superior class. He believed in a blue-blooded aristocracy. The squire and parson were not men—they were akin to the gods. When the parson spoke his words and reasoning were infallible. The squire alone was fitted to go to Parliament to make the laws of the land. Consequently the labourer dwelt in his hut, which was lower than a stable, and thought that things were just as they should be. When he went hungry he had to console himself with the thought of the joys that awaited him in the life hereafter.

Of course, in those days many had received some amount of education, but its effect was to give them distorted views of life. They made headway, and speedily began to regard themselves as superior persons. They wanted education for their children in order that good positions might be open to them, but they did not wish the common ruck to be educated lest the market should be flooded with competitors. Those who were educated did not trouble about the general social condition. So long as they were all right, the world was all right.

Since 1870, however, the opportunity of obtaining a modicum of education has been within the reach of all. The children of labourers have learned to read, they have got to know something about history, geography, and science. They

have gradually found out that their blood is of the same colour as the squire's, that their flesh and bones are as good as his, and at last they are beginning to realise that their brains are also equal to his. It has taken a long time for this idea to get into the minds of the people, but it is getting firmly fixed there now. This is part of the revolution which has been going on.

The next step, and this is being taken now, is that the workers are beginning to say, "If man to man we are equal to the wealthy classes, why should we not have as good conditions of life as they? Why should they have mansions and yachts and horses and fine clothes while we live in hovels and dress in shoddy?" How many young people are asking themselves this question to-day?

Here is the revolt of which we speak. Discontent is all around us. The workers are asking questions. They are reading books on political economy and history and science. They are beginning to want representation in Parliament and on the Town Councils, School Boards, etc. The workers are saying, "We are capable of managing things ourselves. We mean to look after our own interests now."

This is inevitably leading the people as a whole towards Socialism. The rich are only rich because the many are poor. If the poor want to get rid of their poverty, if they want more comfort and enjoyment, they can only do it by taking something from the rich which the rich have enjoyed up to the present.

The workers now have learned that all wealth comes from the application of labour to land. They see that the owners of land and machinery (capital) are rolling in wealth simply because they do own these things. The problem the workers are facing is how to prevent the landlords and capitalists taking so large a share of the wealth produced.

It is evident that a mere change of ownership will affect nothing. To transfer the estates of the Duke of Bedford to Mr. Pierpont Morgan would not benefit labour. Gradually, however, the idea of public ownership and control of the land and the machinery of production is taking possession of people's minds. If towns can own parks, why not fields? If they can run trams and gasworks, why not coal-mines, cotton factories, and railways? If we make the State the landlord, anything we pay in rent will come back to us. If we nationalise the railways, what we pay in fares will come back to us.

This is Socialism. Towards it the workers are turning bodily. The Independent Labour Party is preaching it steadily. It is the greatest movement of the time. It is growing in every nation—not in Britain alone. Whether people like it or not they will have to face it. Hence the wise will study the question carefully and seriously so as to be ready for the great changes which are impending.

Reprinted from the "Labour Leader" of October 4th.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:—

If you are a Socialist you should buy *The Platform* every week. Your news-agent will get it for you if you order it.

For One Penny per week you will receive Twenty Copies.

Distribute these among your neighbours and friends; put them on the seats in railway trains; give them out at public meetings.

If you want information about the Independent Labour Party, write to Councillor JOHN PENNY, General Secretary, 10, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C., who will send you full particulars.

Read the *Labour Leader*, the *Clarion*, and the *I.L.P. News*. These will tell you what Socialism means, and keep you in touch with the great International Socialist movement.

18,000 "Platform" leaflets distributed last week. Help us to bring the circulation up to 100,000.

I. L. P. NEWS.

No. 80. VOL. VII.

NOVEMBER, 1903.

PRICE ONE PENNY

Ingersoll on Competition.

INVENTION has filled the world with competitors not only of laborers, but of mechanics—mechanics of the highest skill. To-day the ordinary laborer is, for the most part a peg in a wheel. He works with the tireless—he feeds the insatiable. When the monster stops, the man is out of employment—out of bread. He has not saved anything. The machine that he fed was not feeding him, was not working for him—the invention was not for his benefit.

The capitalist comes forward with his specific. He tells the workingman that he must be economical!—but under the present system economy would only lessen wages. Under the great law of supply and demand every saving, frugal, self-denying workman is unconsciously doing what little he can to reduce the compensation of himself and his fellows. The saving mechanic is a certificate that wages are high enough. Does the great law demand that every worker live on the least possible amount of bread? Is it his fate to work one day that he may get enough food to be able to work another? Is that to be his only hope—that and death?

Capital has always claimed and still claims the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand. Have the laborers the same right to consult and combine? Capital has the army and navy; the legislature, the judicial and the executive departments. How is it that the rich control the departments of government? In this country the political power is equally divided among men. There are certainly more poor than there are rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the laborers combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, the legislative and judicial departments? Will they ever find how powerful they are?

How are we to settle the unequal contest between men and machines? Will the machine finally go into partnership with the laborer? Can these forces of nature be controlled for the benefit of her suffering children? Will extravagance keep pace with ingenuity? Will the workmen become intelligent enough and strong enough to become the owners of the machines? Will these giants, these Titans, shorten or lengthen the hours of labor? Will they give leisure to the industrious, or will they make the rich richer and the poor poorer? Is man involved in the "general scheme" of things? Is there no pity, no mercy? Can man become intelligent enough to be generous, to be just; or does the same law or fact control him as controls the animal and vegetable world? The great oak steals the sunlight from the smaller trees. The strong animals devour the weak—everything eating something else—everything at the mercy of the beak and

claw, and hoof, and tooth—of hand and club, of brain and greed—inequality, injustice everywhere.

In the days of slavery the strong devoured the weak—actually ate their flesh. In spite of all the laws that man has made, in spite of all advances in science, the strong, the cunning, the heartless, still live on the weak, the unfortunate and foolish. True, they do not eat their flesh or drink their blood, but they live on their labor, on their denial, their weariness and want. The poor man who deforms himself by toil, who labors for wife and child through all his anxious, barren, wasted life—who goes to the grave without ever having had one luxury—has been the food of others. He has been devoured by his fellow men. The poor woman living in the bare and lonely room, cheerless, and fireless, sewing night and day to keep starvation from a child, is slowly being devoured by her fellow men. When I take into consideration the agony of civilized life—the failures, the poverty, the tears, the withered hopes, the bitter realities, the hunger, the crime, the humiliation, the shame—I am almost forced to say that cannibalism, after all, is the most merciful form in which man has ever lived upon his fellow man.

It is impossible for a man with a good heart to be satisfied with this world as it is now. No man can truly enjoy even what he earns—what he knows to be his own—knowing that millions of his fellow men are in misery and want. When we think of the famished, we think that it is almost heartless to eat. To meet the ragged and shivering makes one almost ashamed to be well dressed and warm—one feels as though his heart was as cold as their bodies.

In the world filled with millions and millions of acres of land waiting to be tilled, and where one man can raise the food for hundreds, millions are on the edge of famine. Who can comprehend the stupidity at the bottom of this truth?

Is there to be no change?

Are the "law of supply," invention and science, monopoly and competition, capital and legislation always to be the enemies of those who toil? Will the workers always be ignorant enough and stupid enough to give their earnings for the useless? Will they support millions of soldiers to kill the sons of other workingmen? Will they always build temples for ghosts and phantoms, and live in huts and dens themselves. Will the lips unstained by lies forever kiss the robed imposter's hand? Will they understand that beggars cannot be generous, and that every healthy man must have the right to earn the right to live? Will they finally say that the man who has had equal privileges with all others has no right to complain, or will they follow the example that has been set by their oppressors? Will they learn that force, to succeed, must have thought behind it, and that thought must rest upon the corner stone of justice.

Municipal Election Notes.

Without any disparagement of the splendid work and achievements of so many of our Municipal candidates, we award the palm for the most striking victory of the contests to our comrade, Alf. Hunt, who has won on a straight Labour and Socialist ticket a seat for All Saint's Ward, which is in the heart of Mr. Chamberlain's constituency. The significance of this victory is increased by the fact that Mr. Chamberlain sent a letter warmly supporting the Unionist candidate. The letter was of a somewhat fulsome character, emphasising the great importance of victory in the interests of tariff reform. The defeat of their candidate, who is a popular party man and an ex-chairman of the Guardians, has caused the greatest chagrin to the Unionists, who had concentrated their strongest efforts on this ward, which the Central Offices of the Association took under their wing.

No town has come out of the elections with more satisfaction than Manchester. Three seats held by the party have been retained by good majorities; in the case of Mr. Sutton by a three to one vote over his opponent. Mr. Tom Cook has won a seat in Openshaw, which is in the Gorton Parliamentary division. This looks well for Hodge. In Salford, Mr. Hayes, of the Postmen's Federation, was run by the I.L.P. and gained a seat by a two to one vote over his opponent. The results of these elections should encourage our Manchester and Salford comrades to attend seriously to the thorough organisation of the party. When results like these can be obtained with the party in its present state, it is certain that Manchester and Salford could sweep everything before them with the Labour broom if there were only a strong organised force behind it. Will our Manchester and Salford branches attend to this while the enthusiasm of victory is upon them?

Brighouse is only a small borough, but it has a big Labour party. This year the party won another seat, and a retiring Labour Councillor was returned unopposed. There are now five Labour members on the Council, and genuine chaps they are.

The return of Councillor Barrett, of Ashton, by the largest vote ever polled in the ward, is a tribute alike to the popular respect for his sterling character and the good work he has done on the Council during the last few years.

Councillor Parker, of Halifax, was returned unopposed. By his useful work on the Council he has established a position which is unassailable. He is chairman of the Water Committee.

Blackburn has done splendidly. Two Trades' Council, four S.D.F. and three I.L.P. candidates went to the poll, obtaining a total vote of 5,453. On this average, the vote in the borough would be 8,400. This year there was a repetition of the tantalising luck which has been their fate on each occasion for years back, that is to be beaten by the barest majority. A reference to the record of votes will show that 33 votes cast for us instead of against us out of a total of 4751 votes would have given us three more victories. The vote of Comrade Mitchell is very remarkable, as this ward has been regarded as the most hopelessly Tory.

A very remarkable result, but one unfortunately not carrying actual success, was achieved at Aston, Birmingham. This district has just been incorporated, and the new Council was elected. A reference to the results will show that in Brook Ward our three candidates were very near success. Birmingham district has been long in moving, but it is stirring vigorously at last. When the people turn from Joseph they can only come to Socialism.

No candidate has put more and better work into his fight than Fred Stott, of Warrington. Though just missing success, through the intervention of an independent, he has polled a vote which is most encouraging, and which makes history for Warrington. His next attempt will carry him through. The work that has been done by the few stalwarts in Warrington will soon bring its return.

The newly formed branch of the I.L.P. at Burnley put forward Mr. Wm. Marshall as candidate, and considering the ward the vote of 470 is very satisfactory.

Colne and Nelson are two adjoining boroughs, both in the Clitheroe division. The Labour boom began in Colne about four or five years ago, and rose until one-third of the Council were Labour members. The success of the Labour Party, and the chagrin of the Liberals at the return of Mr. Shackleton has roused every anti-Labour force into fury. Liberals, Tories, Teetotalers, Publicans, Churchmen, Free-Churchers, Passive resisters and those of no particular fad, united to fight the three retiring and one additional Labour men. Motor cars

and carriages were buzzing round every street. The Labour party were very short of workers for four wards; the result was the defeat of all the Labour candidates, although the total labour vote is not

At Nelson, a mile away, a very different result was recorded. So strong is the Labour party that the Liberals in one ward, after asking fifteen gentlemen (mainly Tories) to take the place of a retiring Liberal, had to give up and let the Labour man in without opposition. In another ward, where a Labour candidate was nominated against a sitting Tory, this Tory faked, and at the last moment withdrew his nomination. Two other Labour candidates won through the polls. Their are now eight Labour members on the Council of eighteen councillors.

Middleton is a place we don't hear much about, but it is there alright. Two I.L.P.'ers have won seats, which will make three I.L.P. men on the Council. One of the new Labour councillors is Mr. J. Howard, late elective auditor for the borough, and secretary of the Elective Auditors' Association. His comrade in the twin victory is the devoted secretary of the branch. It is clear there is a Labour vote in Middleton, which can determine the Parliamentary representation.

Hyde has shown a strange advance in a short time. Three candidates, put up on independent lines by the Trades Council, have won two seats from the Liberals in three-cornered fights, with almost a winning vote in the third case. The local I.L.P., as such, were not partners in the candidatures.

This is curious news which comes from Harrogate of a Labour candidate polling 315 votes against a Liberal vote of 492. Harrogate of all places in the world!

The most glaring instance of open arrangement between the Liberals and Tories is reported from Preston. The two parties agreed to allow all the retiring councillors to be returned without opposition. In ten out of the twelve wards this was done, but in two the L.R.C. put forward candidates, with the result that the Liberals and Tories combined as per arrangement, and voted solidly against the Labour candidates.

We regret to report the loss of a seat at Stockton, where our comrade, Alf. Smith, was defeated by the small majority of 24 votes. On this occasion three wards were contested and there was a diffusion of workers which explains the loss. A seat was won in another ward.

Keighley contested two wards and polled a slightly increased total. In one ward, a working man Liberal who has been a tool of the Liberal millowners was thrown out by a Tory. The Liberals, to save themselves from utter rout, touted most shamelessly for the Catholic vote, allowing a Catholic nominee to go unopposed for a Liberal ward. The branch at Keighley are satisfied with the general results. The I.L.P. auditor was again returned at the head of the poll.

We have exceptional pleasure in congratulating our young branch at Wakefield on the excellent beginning it has made in municipal contests. For a first attempt the votes given to the two Labour candidates are highly satisfactory and full of encouragement. Let the branch go ahead with renewed vigour.

A very cheering result comes from Huddersfield, which indicates a remarkable change of opinion in favour of Labour representation. A vast amount of work has been done by the I.L.P. in this landlorn town, but the electoral results in the past have not been very encouraging. Our comrades have kept up their efforts under discouragement, and it seems that the change has now come. In one ward W. Pickles had a straight fight with the Tory and he polled 42 per cent. of the vote cast. In two other wards our candidates opposed both Liberal and Tory, polling respectively 40 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the total votes. A little more effort will bring substantial success at Huddersfield.

For many years the backward state of the Labour movement in Leeds has been a matter of serious concern to those interested in it. Leeds, with its proud past in the reform cause, should, it was felt, be in the van of the present Socialist movement. The municipal results give us a hope that Leeds is going forward. One seat was won in a triangular contest, and in another ward the Labour candidate, Mr. Morbey, polled 2264 votes as against 1042 last year in the same ward. In West Hunslet, Mr. Newlove too doubled his vote of a year ago. The L.R.C., of which the I.L.P. is the active force, has put in a vast amount of work during the contests. The meetings have been crowded and most enthusiastic, and there is no doubt that a lasting impression has been made on public opinion to an extent far greater than the votes indicate. The Leeds Labour party are at the great disadvantage of having a local press which ignores them completely.

Bradford is not a place from which we expect sensational results, for there the movement is too solid and well established. Three Labour Councillors retired this year. One of them, Mr. Hayhurst, is the Trades' Council nominee. He was opposed by a Tory only, and received Liberal support. The hardest fight was in Manningham ward where popular and genial George Minty was seeking re-election. He was opposed by a Liberal and by a Tory, and the Liberals fought with a desperation which cannot be imagined by outsiders. No means, clean or unclean were left unused. Minty ran as Socialist candidate, and as such was described in every leaflet. The result is regarded as the greatest triumph the I.L.P. has won in Bradford. And Geo. Minty and the I.L.P. deserve it. Never had a candidate a better agent than Minty had in Tom Brown, nor a more earnest body of cheerful workers. This ward is in Jowett's constituency.

Mr. E. R. Hartley retired from Bradford Moor Ward, and did not seek re-election. The I.L.P. put forward our Comrade Palin, of the A.S.R.S., as honest and sterling a Socialist as there is in all Bradford. He gathered a good band of workers round him, the tramwaymen particularly, who under the direction of the agent, Mr. A. T. Sutton, did good work in distributing literature, though no canvassing was done on principle. The result, it will be seen, was a close one, our comrade being only 142 votes behind in a triangular contest. Palin's vote was 201 higher than last year, and is the highest Labour vote recorded in the ward against Liberal and Tory.

Mr. A. W. Goodison fought a forlorn hope in the East Ward, Bradford, but polled a fair vote. He fought with a devotion which deserved success.

Municipal Sunday, 1903, will long be remembered in Bradford. St. George's Hall, which holds 5,000 people, was crowded in every part, standing room included. A considerable part of the audience had paid sixpence each for admission, and the rest gave over £16 of a collection. The candidates gave short speeches, and Philip Snowden and John Hodge longer ones. It was a glorious meeting, and the audience felt it was good to be alive, and to be in the cause. Municipal Sunday in St. George's Hall will now be an annual institution.

A regrettable feature of the Bradford results is the re-election to the Council of the Rev. R. Roberts, one time known on Socialist platforms. This gentleman was returned as an I.L.P. candidate two years ago, his election expenses being paid by the party. Shortly after his return he ratted to the Liberals and began to attend Liberal clubs, where his sneering references to the Labour party, which had given him what little public position he had, were so rapturously received that the old man's head was turned. He has been paid in silver, according to precedent, for betraying the party which trusted him. The Liberal newspaper has collected 1,800 pieces of silver for him, that arch enemy of Labour, Alfred Hingworth, heading the list with 200 pieces, and other "friends" of Labour and progress following. It is to be regretted that there were not sufficient men and women in Great Horton Ward with a respect for the decencies of public life and for loyalty to public promises to shew this man that his place is in that obscurity from which the Labour party rescued him.

Arrangements are now completed for an important meeting of the Humanitarian League to be held at Essex Hall, Strand, W.C., on Thursday, November 12th, when Mr. Edward Carpenter will open a debate on vivisection. Mr. Carpenter is not often heard in London, and there are many who would not willingly miss an opportunity of hearing him. The proceedings will commence at 8 o'clock. Admission free.

Mr. William Sanders, the Trades Council Candidate for Portsmouth is putting in a good deal of work in the constituency. Mr. Sanders is Secretary of the Metropolitan Council of the I.L.P.

The Calton (Glasgow) branch is very busy just now. In conjunction with the Scouts an active propaganda has been carried on during the summer with good results. The branch has a hall in Dumbarton St., where lectures will be given during the winter, and "At-homes" every Saturday night.

Hemsworth branch can look back on a very good summer's work. They have been the means not only of reviving the movement in Hemsworth, but in conjunction with Barnsley they have formed several new branches in the division.

"Should the Liberal and Labour Parties Unite," By T. Russell Williams; 500 copies of this pamphlet have been donated by the author. Proceeds to be given to Election Fund. Price, 9d. per 13.

The Tariff Question.

I.L.P. NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

Arrangements for the first series of great Tariff meetings to be held under the direction of the N.A.C. and local branches have now been completed. The following is the list:—

Wednesday, Dec. 2nd	Dundee	.....	Gilfillan Memorial Hall
Thursday	,, 3rd	Glasgow	.....City Hall
Friday	,, 4th	Birmingham	..Town Hall
Monday	,, 7th	Sheffield	.....Albert Hall
Wednesday	,, 9th	Manchester	...Free Trade Hall
Thursday	,, 10th	Oldham	.....Unity Hall
Friday	,, 11th	Darlington	...Assembly Hall

Philip Snowden will be the chief speaker at the Sheffield, Oldham and Darlington meetings, and J. Ramsay MacDonald at the Birmingham, Dundee, Glasgow and Manchester meetings. J. Bruce Glasier, Geo. N. Barnes, John Hodge, Edward Carpenter, M.A., S. D. Shallard, J. A. Fallows, M.A., and other prominent Socialist and Labour men will take part in the campaign.

A second series of meetings will be arranged early in the next year, when the following, among other, towns will be included:—Liverpool, Bradford, Belfast, Edinburgh and Cardiff. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., whose illness, much to his own and the public regret, prevents his taking part in the first series of meetings, will, it is confidently hoped, be able to take a leading part in the later series.

These demonstrations will, it is believed, prove the most successful special propaganda mission upon which the I.L.P. has yet embarked, and are likely to exercise an important influence upon the political attitude of the working class. The N.A.C. relies upon every member of the I.L.P. in the neighbourhood of the meetings doing his utmost to sell tickets among his neighbours and fellow-workmen. Branches in surrounding districts should make the meetings the occasion of a full turn out of their membership. Song sheets will be placed upon all the seats and the audience invited to join with the choirs and organ in rendering several of the songs.

The New Brompton L.R.C. have held a conference of Co-operative, Trade Union and I.L.P. Delegates to hear an address from Councillor Jenkins, of Cardiff, with a view to his adoption as Labour candidate for Parliament. Votes of branches are being taken. The local Liberals have thrown up the sponge.

The adjourned conference of the Chester-le-Street Division was held at Bistley on Saturday, October 31st, when 20 Miners' Lodges, 4 Branches of Mechanics, 2 Branches of I.L.P., 1 Ironfounders, 1 Co-operative Society, 1 Co-operative Employees Union and 1 Trades and Labour Council were represented. A vote of sympathy with comrade Hardie, as the pioneer of the new Labour movement, was passed. A unanimous resolution that the Chester-le-Street Division should be contested in the Labour interests at the next General Election was carried. The Conference pledged itself to support either Mr. Johnson or Mr. Taylor if the Federation Committees sanctioned either of them contesting the above division on the straight Labour ticket. In the event of the decision of the above Committees being unsatisfactory a further conference be convened to consider ways and means, and the selection of a candidate.

Gloucester has recently been making new members. Some of the right sort, too. Alderman Fred Knee, of Battersea, was there last month, and delivered an address on "What Municipalities can do," and the meeting was very successful. On Sunday week, Mr. Charles Fox gave an address on "The Fiscal controversy from a Socialist point of view." This meeting was an immense success, and the lecture was well received by a full hall.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

HEAD OFFICE: 10, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

I.L.P. NEWS.

ISSUED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

No. 79.—NOVEMBER, 1903.

Subscription Rates: One Year, 1s. 6d.; six months, 9d.; one month 1½d. Post free. For Advertising rates write the Publisher, "I.L.P. News."

HEAD OFFICE, 10, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

Answers to Correspondents.

ALDERMAN KNEE.—Don't try a joke. You only justify *Punch's* definition of an Alderman as a "man with a paucity of wit." You know nothing about the matter upon which you write.

The Bolton Socialist Society send a resolution protesting against the paragraph in last issue re the Thomasson v. Quelch debate. Their protest, however, doesn't alter the fact, which was as we stated.

A. RATLEDGE.—The *News* is the official organ of the I.L.P., and it expresses the opinions of the party.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Four letters (including one from H Brockhouse evidently intended for publication) have been received, adversely commenting on the articles in last issue, but as these are insignificant compared to the vast number of communications heartily approving of our stand, we have excluded all. We have said our say, and are ready to do so again when the occasion needs it.

Owing to the pressure of space through election returns many paragraphs of branch news are held over.

Illness of J. Keir Hardie, M.P.

Early last month the symptoms of internal trouble which during the past two years have caused our comrade J. Keir Hardie much pain and depression became once more so acute that he had to abandon all public engagements. By the advice, or rather we might almost say the compulsion, of his friends he sought the advice of specialists, and yielding to their counsel he has submitted to an operation for appendicitis. We are glad to know and all his friends in the nation are glad to know that the operation has been most successfully performed and that he is making quite a remarkable recovery. Sir Thomas Barlow and Dr. Preece Gould, under whose charge he has been, have displayed the greatest interest and kindness in his case, and the King, a fellow sufferer from the same disease, made special enquiry concerning the patient. Hundreds of messages of sympathy have been sent to Mr. and Mrs. Hardie from all parts of the country.

As soon as he is strong enough Mr. Hardie will at the request of his doctors go somewhere for several weeks' change and rest, after which, it is hoped, he will soon be as fit and strong as ever. There is a wide-spread feeling that at no distant date some fitting occasion should be found

to enable the movement to express its feeling of gladness that our comrade has been so happily restored to health, and also to give some expression to the deep affection and admiration in which his remarkable toil, his patience and wisdom are held by his friends and fellow workers in the cause of Socialism and the present day working class movement, which he has done so much to make.

Delegate or Representative?

THE question of what should be the exact relations between the branches and their "elected persons" is exciting some interest in certain quarters, and as it is a matter of concern to the movement we may express our opinion upon it.

There is no universal plan adopted in our party on this question. The most general way seems to be to leave the representative considerable latitude for the exercise of his judgment. This we think is the proper method to adopt. Before a branch adopts a candidate for a public position it should be satisfied of his good sense, his intelligence, and his knowledge of our principles. Convinced of this, the branch should allow him freedom to exercise these qualifications, and so long as no principle is violated be content in the belief that his actions on particular questions are determined by that intimate knowledge of the matter which only those closely acquainted with all the facts can possess.

The branch seems to us to be assuming a position it is not qualified to fill when it claims to debate the action of the representative on every minor question. That is a position which reduces the representative to a humiliating condition which no self-respecting man or woman would care to occupy. A sense of responsibility tends to quicken intelligence, and the representative who feels that responsibility will take a far greater interest and pride in his work than when he has been denuded of initiative and responsibility.

But while this seems to us the proper relationship between the branch and its public representatives, we do not wish it to be understood that the branch must exercise no control over the representatives' actions. But the authority of the branch should be exercised in reason, and only when some question of principle is at issue should it take the extreme step of dictating the action of its representative.

On the other hand the representative should recognise that the reputation of the movement locally is largely in his keeping, and that his public actions may help or hinder the progress of the branch. The selected representative will, we are sure, feel it to be his duty to take the branch fully into his confidence in regard to his public work, and in a kindly and friendly spirit seek their advice on matters of importance.

Mr. E. R. Hartley, Tyersal, Bradford, is now in a position to devote his whole time to lecturing for branches. A. W. Hildreth Cullercoates, Northumberland, can take engagements. He is an able speaker. The Ruskin Hall people recommend A. P. Harding, M.A., 25, Church Street, Birkenhead.

Municipal Election Results.

SUCCESSFUL.

Gains marked *

Manchester (Harpurhey) ...	Jackson (I.L.P.)	2305
	Tory	1852
„ (Openshaw) ...	Cook (I.L.P.)	1765*
	Tory	1142
„ (Blackley).....	Johnston (I.L.P.) ...	1402
	Tory	1250
„ (Bradford) ...	Sutton (I.L.P.)	2924
	Independent	1038
„ (Ardwick).....	Hughes (I.L.P.)	2369*
	Tory	1932
	Tory	86
Salford (St. Thomas)	Hayes (I.L.P.)	720*
	Tory	334
Bradford (Manningham) ...	Minty (I.L.P.)	1346
	Liberal	1130
	Tory	1101
„ (Allerton)	Hayhurst (Lab.)	1208
	Tory	629
Leeds (New Wortley)	Buckle (L.R.C.)	1164*
	Liberal	1059
	Tory	400
Brighouse (Calder)	Fawthrop (Lab.)	276*
	Liberal	265
Halifax (Southowram)	Broadley (I.L.P.) ...	579
	Tory	460
Stockton (Portack)	Clinton (Lab.)	340*
	Opponent	235
Todmorden (Longfield) ...	Wilkinson (Lab.).....	419*
	Opponent	112
Whitehaven (Newton)	Burney (Soc.)	168*
	Liberal	146
	Liberal	91
Nelson (Bradley)	Rickard (L.R.C.).....	537*
	Tory	411
„ (Central)	Duerden (L.R.C.) ...	547*
	Liberal	393

Two Labour gains in addition by unopposed return of Labour candidates in places of a Liberal and a Tory; the retiring Labour member returned opposed.

Chester (St. Oswalds)	W. Carr (Lab.).....	747
	Tory	483
	Independent.....	358
Hyde (Werneth)	Williamson (T.C.) ...	757*
	Tory	672
	Liberal	641
„ (Godley)	Pope (T.C.)	724*
	Liberal	596
	Tory	576
Blackburn (St. Michael's) ..	Gregson (T.C.)	671
	Tory	581
„ (St. Stephen's) ..	Harris (T.C.)	803
	Independent.....	463
„ (St. Luke's) ...	Eccles (Soc.)	722*
	Tory	583
Bury (Moorside)	Duckworth (Lab.) ...	1093*
	Tory	896
„ (Elton)	Nabb (Lab.).....	859*
	Tory	719
Ashton (St. Peter's)	Barrett (I.L.P.)	1484
	Liberal	1308
	Tory	838

Middleton (West)	Howard (I.L.P.)	843*
	Liberal	652
„ (North).....	Partington (I.L.P.)...	694*
	Tory	455
Norwich (Coslany)	Witard (I.L.P.)	396*
	Liberal	277
	Tory	228
Birmingham (All Saint's)...	Hunt (I.L.P.)	1878*
	Chamberlainite	1828
Darlington (East)	Crooks (Lab.)	623*
	Opponent	539
Hull (West Central)	Dean (Lab.).....	927
	Opponents	577
Workington	W. Holmes (I.L.P.) unop'd	
	H. Watts (I.L.P.) ..	
South Shields (Laygate) ...	Cullen (Lab.).....	unop'd
S.W.Ham (Canning Town)...	Watts (I.L.P.)	1129
	Opponent	779
„ (Tidal Basin) ...	D. J. Davis (I.L.P.)	1029
	Opponent	650
„ (Custom House)...	Croot (I.L.P.)	853
	Opponent	653
„ (Hudson).....	Cunningham (S.D.F.)	987
	Opponent	901
„ (High Street)...	Leggatt (Lab.).....	651
	Opponent	620
Westminster (St. John's) ...	Rev. Davies (Lab.)...	994
	Penfold (I.L.P.)	912
	Bailey (Lab.)	903
	Heywood (Lab.)	889
	Bannochie (I.L.P.) ...	805
	Wilmshurst (Lab.) ...	770

Six seats. Nineteen candidates. All Labour men elected.

Woolwich. Twenty-two Labour candidates were returned, of whom twelve are members of the I.L.P.

Glasgow (Whitevale) ...	Miller (Lab.)	1829*
	Opponent	1595
„ (Woodside).....	Stevenson (Lab.).....	3360
	Opponent	3010
„ (Mile-End).....	Shaw Maxwell (Lab.)	1762
	Smith	1169
	Haddow (Lab.)	542
„ (Townhead) Councillor Forsyth (Lab.) was		
	returned unopposed.	

Bolton (West).....	Tootill (Lab.)	1986*
	Liberal	1451
	Tory	1444
„ (Derby)	Isherwood (Lab.).....	1295*
	Tory	1286
	Tory	1207
Bootle (Linacre).....	Clarke (Lab.)	455*
	Tory	404
Croydon (South).....	W. K. Smith (Lab.)	993*
„ (West)	S. Stanks (Lab.)	2132
	A. Gore (Lab.).....	2121
Gateshead (North).....	T. Peacock (I.L.P.) unop'd	
Grantham (West)	G. Robinson (Lab.)...	621*
	Opponent	594
	Opponent	519
	Opponent	124
Grimsby (North-West).....	Pickwell (Lab.).....	319
	Tory	289
Sunderland (Bridge)	New (I.L.P.)	890
	Lib.-Tory	641

I.L.P. NEWS.

Leicester (Aylestone).....	Chaplin (<i>Lab.</i>).....	802*
	Tory	599
Northampton (Castle)	Pitts (Soc.)	456*
„ (North)	Gribble (Soc.)	766*
Chatham (Luton)	E. P. Wake (<i>Lab.</i>) ..	1180*
Stockport (Reddish N).....	W. H. Hollis (<i>Lab.</i>) ..	514
	Tory	288

NOT RETURNED.

Losses marked *

Birmingham (St. Barth.) ...	Tory	1274
	Speake (<i>Lab.</i>)	746
Aston (Brook)	Tory	996
	Tory	888
	Tory	958
	Berry (Soc.)	900
	Hadden (Soc.).....	893
	Hine (Soc.)	820
Eccles (Winton).....	Liberal	412
	Farnie (L.R.C.)	362
„ (Barton)	Liberal	371
	Hughes (I.L.P.)	193
„ (Patricroft)	Liberal	566
	Irish (<i>Lab.</i>)	161
Warrington (Orford).....	Liberal	439
	Stott (I.L.P.)	357
	Tory	108
Burnley (Lowerhouse)	Liberal	900
	Marshall (I.L.P.).....	470
„ (Daneshouse)	Liberal	779
	Lees (Soc.)	572
„ (Burnley Wood)....	Liberal	890
	Spencer (Soc.)	659
Colne (Horsefield).....	Tory	477
	Harrison (L.R.C.) ..	300*
„ (Carry Bridge)	Tory	396
	Paterson (Soc.)	382*
„ (Prinet)	Liberal	395
	Mulligan (L.R.C.) ..	271*
„ (Central)	Liberal	452
	Thornton (L.R.C.) ..	404
Heywood (West)	Tory	520
	Liberal	413
	Ogden (<i>Lab.</i>)	374
Hyde (Newtown)	Liberal	754
	Tory	701
	Redfern (T.C.).....	667
Harrogate (East)	Liberal	492
	Hill (<i>Lab.</i>)	315
Keighley (East).....	Tory	406
	Liberal	346
	Smith (I.L.P.).....	253
„ (Elective Auditor)	Waterworth (I.L.P.)	605
	Opponent	560
	Opponent	315
Preston (Fishwick).....	Tory-Lib.....	682
	Francis (L.R.C.).....	494
„ (Park)	Tory-Lib.....	1440
	Swarbrick (L.R.C.)...	771
Stockton (Victoria)	Opponent	407
	Smith (I.L.P.).....	383*
„ (N-West)	Opponent	417
	Baker (I.L.P. & T.C.)	256

Blackburn (St. Thomas')...	Tory	744
	Mitchell (I.L.P.).....	736
„ (Park)	Tory	1092
	Hobkirk (I.L.P.).....	398
„ (St. Andrew's)	Tory	760
	Dawson (Soc.).....	446
„ (St. Paul's).....	Tory	776
	Smethurst (Soc.)	759
„ (St. Matthew's)	Liberal	605
	Tory	566
	Vaughan (I.L.P.) ..	565
„ (St. Mark's) ...	Tory	741
	Dawson (Soc.)	353
Huddersfield (Fartown).....	Tory	1014
	Pickles (I.L.P.)	722
„ (North)	Tory	438
	Wheatley (<i>Lab.</i>)	390
„ (Moldgreen)....	Tory	731
	Liberal	512
	Whiteley (I.L.P.) ..	500
Wakefield (N. Westgate)...	Liberal	212
	Bagnall (<i>Lab.</i>).....	151
	Tory	107
„ (Calder)	Tory	257
	Liberal	158
	Wainwright (<i>Lab.</i>) ..	128
York (Monk).....	Tory	972
	Liberal	593
	Hawkin (I.L.P.)	323
Crewe (Central).....	Tory	465
	Liberal	412
	Barrett (I.L.P.)	293
Leeds (North-West)	Liberal	2195
	Tory	2148
	Thaxton (L.R.C.) ..	384
„ (South)	Tory	914
	Liberal	812
	Wood (L.R.C.)	220
„ (W. Hunslet).....	Liberal	2106
	Tory	953
	Newlove (<i>Lab.</i>)	935
„ (Armley)	Liberal	2304
	Morby (L.R.C.)	2264
Bradford (Moor)	Liberal	1129
	Tory	1041
	Palin (I.L.P.)	987*
„ (East)	Tory	1550
	Liberal	898
	Goodison (I.L.P.) ..	364
Derby (Osmaston).....	Tory	585
	Raynes (<i>Lab.</i>)	292
„ (Beckett).....	Tory	706
	Tom Taylor	285
Bolton (Halliwell).....	Liberal	1446
	Tory	1289
	Forber (<i>Lab.</i>)	1128
Carlisle (Botchergate)	Watson (<i>Lab.</i>)	895
Croydon (Central).....	G. Gliddon (<i>Lab.</i>) ..	656
	G. H. Young (<i>Lab.</i>)	635
„ (East)	J.M. Robertson (<i>Lab.</i>)	547
King's Lynn (North).....	Dexter (L.R.C.)	256
„ (South).....	Kidd (L.R.C.).....	382
Leicester (St. Margaret's) ...	J. Peacock (<i>Soc.</i>).....	592

Northampton (South)	Kirkton (Soc.)	170
„ (Kingsthorpe)	Scott (Soc.)	481
„ (Far Cotton)	Westley (Soc.)	53
„ (St Edmund's)	Digby (Soc.)	341
„ (St. Crispin's)	Gee (Soc.)	469
„ (St. Michael's)	Glenn (Soc.)	544
„ (St. James's)	House (Soc.)	85
Leigh (Etherstone)	C. Aubrey (Lab.)	145
„ (St. Mary's)	C. Walkden (Lab.)	453
New Brompton (South)	A. C. Hill (Lab.)	212
„ (North)	Reynolds (Lab.)	287
Rochdale (Wardleworth E)	Liberal	469
„	T. Knighton (Lab.)	237
Shrewsbury (Abbey Forge)	Milman (Lab.)	194
South Shields (Holborn)	J. Dunlop (Lab.)	222
„ (St. Hilda)	R. Morgan (Lab.)	111
„ (Shields)	J. H. Johnston (Soc.)	65
S.W. Ham (Forest Gate)	Opponent	914
„	Sanders Jacobs (Lab.)	833*
„ (Plaistow)	Opponent	1012
„	W. Edwards (S.D.F.)	938
„ (Broadway)	Skinner (Lab.)	478
„ (Park)	Fink (Lab.)	288
Stalybridge (Lancashire)	Ewards (Lab.)	393
„ (Dukinfield)	Brown „	521
„ (Stayley)	Dayton „	141
„	Robinson „	90
Stockport (St. Thomas's)	Liberal ..	481
„	Tory	371
„	John Bennett (Lab.) ..	88
„ (Hempshaw Lane)	Tory	419
„	John Smith, Lab. „ ..	291
Sunderland, Central	Tory	804
„	Smith (T.C.)	495
Todmorden, Cornholme	Liberal	492
„	W. Uttley, Lab. „ ..	162
Wigan, Lindsay	Tory	342
„	T. Smith, Lab. „ ..	304
„ Victoria	Liberal	464
„	W. Taylor, Lab. „ ..	214
„ St. Andrew's	Tory	720
„	Liberal	415
„	A. E. Stoker, Soc. „ ..	228
Govan, Sixth	W. Greer, Lab. „ ..	685
Glasgow, Calton	Opponent	2769
„	Opponent	2004
„	Fraser, Lab. „ ..	1595
Liverpool, Edgehill	Tory	1419
„	Independent	749
„	Reeves, I.L.P. „ ..	675
Dewsbury, All Saints'	Wood (S.D.F.)	142
Halifax, Ovenden	Tory	493
„	Wilson, I.L.P. „ ..	413
Nottingham, Sherwood	Tory	944
„	Liberal	768
„	Gutteridge, I.L.P. „ ..	433
New Brompton, East	Sewington, Lab. „ ..	341
Kilmarnock, Second	Opponent	859
„	Climie, Lab. „ ..	423
Motherwell, Fourth	John M'Dermott, Lab ..	238
Partick, Fifth	Scott, Lab. „ ..	246

THE TOPIC OF THE DAY.

The Chamberlain Bubble.

Facts about the Zollverein,
With an Alternative Policy.

By PHILIP SNOWDEN.

“The best and most effective Penny Pamphlet on the subject.”—
Labour Leader. Post free 1½d.

THE ZOLLVEREIN and BRITISH INDUSTRY.

By . .

J. R. MacDonald,
L.C.C.

PRICE 1/- POST FREE.

“It is our party's text book in this ‘big fight.’ Every member should buy it and study it. The reading of it will enable one to meet and demolish the statements and contentions which will be put forward by Mr. Chamberlain and his supporters, down to the humble work-mate.”—I.L.P. NEWS.

Labour Politics: A Symposium.—By J. KEIR
HARDIE, M.P., PHILIP SNOWDEN, and D. J.
SHACKLETON, M.P. 16 pp. Price 1d., post free 1½d.

LABOUR: Its Politics and Ideals.

By J. BRUCE GLASIER. 16 pages. Price 1d. Post free, 1½d.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY;

What it is and where it stands.

16 pages, in Cover. Price 1d., post free 1½d.

Every Branch should Stock the above Publications.

LEAFLETS FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Labour Representation Leaflet, No. 3.

Protection? Perhaps! But what kind?

4 pp. 6d. per 100. 3/6 per 1000.

Labour Representation Leaflet, No. 4.

What will happen if you follow Mr. Chamberlain?

2 pp. 6d. per 100. 2/6 per 1000.

PLATFORM LEAFLETS.

No. 124—Questions!

„ 123—Protection or Socialism?

„ 122—The Case for Independence. By J. Keir Hardie, M.P.

„ 121—The Socialist Idea.

6d. per 100. 2/6 per 1000.

A New Pamphlet by Miss Margaret McMillan.

“THE BEGINNING OF EDUCATION.”

Now Ready. Price 1d. Post free 1½d.

Early Socialist Pamphlets and other Literature.

WANTED—Pamphlets and other publications of the Socialist movement before 1885. Files of “The Commonwealth,” “Justice,” “The Poor Man's Guardian,” “Northern Star,” “People's Guardian,” and the “Christian Socialist,” (first issue). Specially wanted.—Send List and Prices to

J. R. MacDonald, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.

WANTED.—One copy of the I.L.P. News for September, 1897.
One copy “Labour Leader” for July 7th, 1900.

F. Johnson, 10, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

Monthly Report from Head Office.

NOVEMBER 10th, 1903.

Branch Fees and Reports.

80 Branches paid fees in October.
85 „ sent Reports without fees.
48 „ sent neither Reports nor fees.

Branches marked with an asterisk (*) pay fees quarterly.

The following branches paid fees in October:—

Ashton	14	2	Finsbury	1	8	Norwich	7	6	
Ashington	2	3	Frosterly		6	Ogmore Valley	6	0	
Barrow S S	6	0	*Fulham	5	0	Oldham	10	0	
Belfast	2	3	*Gateshead	15	0	Paisley	16	8	
Birmingham W	4	6	Gillingham	2	0	Partick	6	0	
Blackburn	12	6	Glossop	4	0	Pendlebury	4	0	
Blackpool C F	4	3	Gloucester	3	0	Preston	18	9	
Bradford	2	0	0	Harrow	8	St. Helens	5	8	
Brechin	1	0	Hartlepool	2	0	St. Pancras	2	0	
Bridgeton	4	2	Hartlepool W	2	0	Salford N	4	2	
Burnley	6	0	Hazel Grove	2	6	Shrewsbury S S,	paid		
Burnopfield	9		Hemsworth	2	6	Skipton	4	2	
Bury	3	4	Hexham		3	Sparkhill	1	7	
Cardiff	5	0	Hyde	1	5	0	Spenn Valley S S	1	0
Carlton	2	0	Landore	5	10		*Springburn	4	6
Cheltenham	1	0	Leith	2	6		Stanhope	6	
Clapham	4	2	Littleborough	2	0		Stockport	10	0
Colne	5	0	*London City	19	0		Stockton	5	0
Consett	1	6	Merthyr	2	0		Swansea S S	5	0
Cowling	10		Mexborough	1	0		Wakefield	10	0
Cwmaman	6		Middlesborough	3	0		Warrington	2	6
Cwmavon	3	2	Middleton, paid				West Bromwich	10	0
Darlington	2	10	Milnsbridge, paid				Willesden	3	4
Derby	10	6	Muskelburgh	5	0		Wombwell	1	2
Dowlais	9		*Nelson	18	0		Woolwich	5	2
East Ham	1	6	New Marske	1	6		York	6	4
Failsworth	5	0	North Shields		11				

The following Branches sent Reports without fees:—

Aston, *Attercliffe, Barnsley S S, *Bentham, Bermondsey, *Birmingham E, Birmingham S, *Blaina, Bootle, *Brighouse, Bristol E, Camlachie, Carnoustie, Catcliffe, Clydebank, *College, Crewe, Crook, Crumpsall, Cudworth, Darwen, *Dudley, Dundee, Dunfermline, Earby, Eccles, Edinburgh, Farnworth, *Felling, *Glasgow City, Gloucestershire S, Gorton, *Govan, Grimsby, Hackney, Halifax, *Hazel Grove, *Hollinwood, *Horwich, *Huddersfield, Hutesontown, Keighley, Kensington N, Kettering, Langley Mill, *Leeds C, *Leeds N, Leeds S, Leeds W, Leicester, Liverpool, *Long Eaton, *Longwood, *Lye, Manchester C, Manchester E, Manchester N, Moss Side, Motherwell, Newcastle, Newton Heath, Nottingham, *Oldham C, Oswestry, *Openshaw, Ossett, Pudsey, Rochdale, Rotherham, *Rutherglen, *St. Rollox, Salford W, Scarborough, *Southport, South Shields, *Stanley, *Sunderland, Thornhill Lees, Tottenham, Usworth and Washington, Vale of Leven, West Ham N, West Ham S, Westminster, *Workington.

The following Branches sent neither Reports nor Fees:—

Aberaman S S, Aberavon, Abercarne, Aberdare, Ayr, Ayrshire C, *Bedlinog, Bo'ness, Brecon, Brynmawr, Calton, Cannock, Chelmsford, Cleckheaton, Colne Valley, Dalmellington, Falkirk, Ferndale, Hull, Hunslet E, Inverness, Kilmarnock, Kinning Park, Macclesfield, Mossley, Mountain Ash, New Cumnock, Newport, Portsmouth, Renfrew, Rothwell, Shildon, Small Heath, Smethwick, Sowerby, Sparkbrook, Spen Colliery, Spennymoor, Stalybridge, Stewarton, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Townhill, Tradeston, Treharris, Wellington S S, Wolverhampton, Yarmouth, Yeadon.

The Branch Report Sheet for November must be posted on or before the 25th inst. Report Sheets may be obtained from the Head Office.

NEW BRANCHES.

CATCLIFFE (Rotherham).—Secretary, W. H. Littlewood, 86, Wood Lane, Treeton, Rotherham.

STANHOPE (Barnard Castle).—Secretary, Robert Henderson, Cross Hill, Stanhope.

NEW SECRETARIES.

ASHTON.—R. Battersby, Socialist Hall, Katherine Street, Ashton-in-Lyne.

BIRMINGHAM EAST.—W. Luckcuck, 43, Malthouse Lane, Saltley, Birmingham.

DARLINGTON.—Lewis S. Littlejohn, 3, Denmark St., Darlington.

HEMSWORTH.—J. A. Green, 22, Bond St., Kinsley, Hemsworth.

OPENSHAW.—A. Gerring, 32, Rock Street, Higher Openshaw, Manchester.

ST. ROLLOX.—R. Paterson, 10, Stanhope Street, Glasgow.

SALFORD WEST.—A. Dalgleish, 4, Park Grove, Burlington Street, Manchester.

ELECTION FUND DONATIONS.

Blackburn £1 10s., North Leeds, No. 5 list, 3/6, Nelson 10/-, John Nattress collected 12/-, W. G. Chinn 1/-, Tottenham £1 5s. 6d., Westminster 6/-, Edinburgh £2 3s. 6d., Huddersfield £3 6s., Darlington 16/-, Philip Driver, per E.R. 1/-, T. Handford 6/6, Middlesborough £1, College 12/-, Hutesontown £1 16s., R. A. Anderson 2/6, W. H. Thomas 1/-, Willesden 8/-, Leicester £1 1s. 6d., Fred Burgess collected 6/6, Darwen £5, D. Armstrong 1/-, Chips, Lowmoor 2/-, F. Palmer, Derby, collected £1 5s. 6d., Gateshead 6/-, St. Pancras £2 10s., Farnworth £2 0s. 10d., Long Eaton £1 3s, Jas. S, Bruce 6/-, Newcastle 14/9, St. Helens S.S. 9/-, F. Robinson 1/6, Oldham 16/9, Mr. and Mrs. Travers Symons 2/-, Glasgow City £3 4s, St. Rollox 19/-, Barrow S.S. 13/-, Hyde £1 7s., collected by J. Martin 9/-, Littleborough 2/6, Springburn 10/-, Dudley 5/-, Skipton 3/-, Leith £1, Bridgeton £1 8s., Attercliffe, £1 6s. 6d., John Davidson 1/-, Felling 8/6, London City £4 0s. 6d., Usworth £1 11s. 6d., Burnopfield, collected by Jeffery 8/-, per Labour Leader £9 18s. Total £59 1s. 4d.

Conference Expenses Fund—Gateshead £1.

National Branch Subscriptions—F. Burgess 10/-.

Special Effort Fund—St. Helens S.S., in recognition of Bruce Glasier's services, 10/-.

Sundries—York Conference £5 5s., Philip Snowden £1, Dividends £2 17s. 10d., City Branch 1/9; total £9 4s. 7d.

The income at Head Office during October was:—

	£	s.	d.
Affiliation Fees	...	...	...
Goods	...	...	...
Election Fund Donations	...	...	...
Conference Expenses Fund	...	...	...
National Branch Subscriptions	...	...	...
Special Effort Fund Donation	...	...	...
Sundries	...	...	...
	£187	1	8

(Signed) FRANCIS JOHNSON,
Assistant Secretary.

Notes on Organisation and the Law of Registration and Elections. ***

By Arthur Henderson, M.P., and
J. Ramsay Macdonald. ***

100 pages. Post free 2/2

LEAFLETS FOR DISTRIBUTION.

6d. per 100, post free. 3/- per 1000, carriage paid.

The Political Labour Movement.

Our Objects.

Socialist Songs.

Municipal Milk.

The Advance of the Trust.

The I.L.P.

The Revolt of Labour.

Equal Opportunity.

The Labour Representation Movement.